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EDITORS' NOTE

This new issue of the Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music contains approaches to a number of important themes from many different angles. We begin, in the section for peer-reviewed articles, with a detailed study by Victoria Legkikh of the 16th-century service to All New Russian Saints, part of her continuing work on the hymnographical texts created in Rus', in the Slavonic language, as it developed its own Orthodox culture independently of the world of Constantinople.

This is followed by a number of communications from conferences and symposia that have been organized or co-organized by ISOCM, beginning with composer Oleg Harkavyi's discussion of liturgical music as a dynamic system, Robert Galbraith's survey of recordings of Rachmaninov's All-Night Vigil and Jopi Harri's extensive investigation into performance practice at the Monastery of Valaam in Finland, originating in papers given in Minneapolis, at the Pan-Orthodox Liturgical Music Symposium in 2018, and the main biennial conference held in Joensuu in 2019. Konstantinos Karagounis writes on the theological aspect of performing Byzantine chant, and Tuuli Lukkala offers a fascinating overview of her on-going research into the soundscape of Orthodox worship in Finland.

The performance of the Great Doxology between the 18th and 19th centuries is the theme of the paper by Gerasimos-Sofoklis Papadopoulos and Polykarpos Polykarpidis, as seen through various kinds of transcription and exegesis, and repertoires in use contemporary Orthodox worship in Portugal are the object of the project presented here by Svetlana Poliakova, Joana Peliz and António Baptista. This is followed by Michael Stroumpakis's presentation of the intriguing case of the New Leimonarion by Ioannis Kavadas of Chios.

Susan Ashbrook Harvey's keynote address from the 2020 ISOCM Symposium, organized with St Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary in New York, takes us on a fascinating journey back to the liturgy of the early Syriac Christians, while Tamara Adamov Petijević's paper from the same symposium discusses the practical dimensions of the spirituality of the church musician. Juliana Woodill's contribution takes these ideas into the realm of the eminently practical, born of a long and intense experience with working with budding church musicians.

Finally, we publish the obituaries of two luminaries of the world of Orthodox church music, and far beyond: Katy Romanou and Dimitrije Stefanović. For those of us who knew them, these highly personal tributes will not only mean a great deal, but one may also hope that they will serve as reminders of the huge potential in terms of the shaping of the human mind that a discipline as apparently arcane as musicology may have.

We end with a review of a truly remarkable new book by Andrew Mellas, which deals very directly with that connection between liturgy and music, the mind and the heart.

Very Rev. Dr Ivan Moody
Editor-in-Chief

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THE SERVICE TO ALL NEW RUSSIAN SAINTS: PERFORMANCE THROUGH ASSOCIATIONS

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1 INTRODUCTION

The feast of the New Wonderworkers of Russia was instigated after the Macarius councils of 1547 and 1549. The service to all new Russian saints on 17 July was created by Grigoriy, a monk of the monastery in Suzdal devoted to St Euthymius in the 1550s. According to Ivan Spassky, the author of the first service to all Russian saints was born around 1500, and in 1530 entered the Saviour-Euthymius Monastery in Suzdal, where he was received by Archimandrite German. The earliest manuscript with this service belongs to the collection of the Trinity-Sergius monastery, and it dates from the beginning of the 17th century. Originally, 17 July, the closest date to the commemoration of St Vladimir, was chosen as the feast day,¹ but soon it was moved to the first Sunday after the commemoration of St Elias.² However, in the 17th-century manuscript *Чиновник Большого Успенского собора времени Патриарха Филарета* (written in about 1626), we find the feast on the day after Pentecost but before the day of All Saints.³ In the 18th century, the feast disappeared from the official calendar and remained only in the calendar of the Old Believers.⁴ It was published several times in the 18th -19th centuries⁵, the latest publication may be found in the so-called “green menaion” in 1991⁶.

The modern celebration of all the saints who illuminated the land of Russia was established by decision of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1917–1918. At the meeting on the 7/20 August, there was presented a report by Professor Boris Turaev about the celebration of the commemoration of all the saints, the new Russian wonderworkers. The report gave a brief overview of the history of the service for the

1 Manuscript of the 17th century of the Trinity-Sergius monastery *Псалтирь с воследованием* (Psalterium ecclesioslavicum) RSL, f. 304/I, Nr. 337, Ff. 557–571.

2 See Архиепископ Сергий, *Полный Месяцеслов Востока*, V. I P. (Владимир, 1901), 312–313.

3 *Временник Общества Истории и древностей Российских*. V. 22 (Москва, 1855), 125.

4 See И. Спасский, “Первая служба всем русским святым и ее автор,” *Журнал Московской патриархии* 8 (1949): 50–55.

5 See А. В. Вознесенский, *Кириллические издания старообрядческих типографий конца XVIII — начала XIX века: Каталог* (Ленинград: Издательство Ленинградского университета, 1991), 125, 137, 143, 145.

6 *Минея. Июль*. Вып. 2 (Москва: Издательский совет русской православной церкви, 1988), 209–227.

new Russian wonderworkers, examples of such services (the Old Testament forefathers, the monks of Athos, and others) and proposed the restoration of the celebration of their commemoration after the commemoration of All Saints. Having heard the report, the Council determined to restore the celebration of the day of commemoration of all Russian saints on the First Sunday of St Peter's fast and to publish the re-edited service by Pentecost. The article was transferred to the publishing department of the Council where it was accepted with minor amendments. The correction of the service was entrusted to Turayev and the priest Afanasiy⁷ (Sakharov), who was himself later canonized. The service was almost completely rewritten; only a few of the old hymns remained. The initial version of the service was published as a brochure by the civil press in Moscow in 1918. Afanasiy continued to correct the service throughout his life. The next edition was published in Moscow in 1946. The final text of the service, more extensive than that of the first editions, was released in the Menaion prepared by the Moscow Patriarchate in 1978-1989.⁸

The service was studied by Ivan Spassky who confirmed Grigoriy's authorship and defined some biographical facts. Grigoriy was very productive, writing 14 hagiological works, but the *Slovo* (eulogy) to all Russian saints and the service to all Russian saints are his most important creations. It was called "the new word in Russian liturgical writing"⁹. The *Slovo* to all Russian saints was published by Archimandrite Makary (Veretennikov)¹⁰. It attracted attention of several researchers, and was studied and reworked by several of them, especially Afanasiy Sakharov, who reworked the service over the course of many years¹¹. The canon to all Russian saints created by Sergius Schelonin was studied by Oleg Panchenko¹². The earliest version was carefully studied for Turaev's report, who noticed a very important point: that the service was constructed according to the model of the service for Cheesefare Saturday with some direct borrowings (for example, the first sessional hymn)¹³. The nun Ignatiya (Puzik) studied the composition and poetics of the service, but her work does not consider the fact that the service makes much use of borrowings, so the analysis of the poetics of the service in her work is not complete.¹⁴

Since the service is one of the typical products of Russian hymnography after the councils of Macarius, it seems to me interesting to analyse the way in which it was created. The aim of this paper is an attempt at analysing the first version, showing the borrowings, combinations of borrowings and "new" hymns. In this article I will concentrate on the analysis of the small and great vespers. Since the textology of the service is not the aim of this article, I quote it from the earliest manuscript, containing this service without comparison with other manuscripts and old printed books, which show some small changes.

7 Saints' names appear in Latin/English form (Theodosius etc.), but more recent people, and also the hymnographers, are given in their Russian form.

8 А. А. Лукашевич, "Всех святых, в земле российской просиявших, неделя," in *Православная энциклопедия* V. IX. (Москва: Церковно-научный центр «Православная энциклопедия», 2005), 705–706.

9 Ростислав (Лозинский), прот., *Русская литургическая письменность (Пути исторического развития и анализ богословского содержания)*. V. 1: XI–XVI ст. (Кострома: МДА, 1967), 245.

10 Макарий (Веретенников), архим. "Эпоха новых чудотворцев (Похвальное слово новым рус. святым инока Григория Суздальского)," *Альфа и Омега* 2 (13) (1997): 128–144.

11 Афанасий (Сахаров), еп. *Служба всем святым в земле русской просиявшим* (Москва: Православный Свято-Тихоновский Богословский институт, 1995).

12 О. В. Панченко, "Из археогр. разысканий: II. «Канон всем святым, иже в Велицеи Росии в посте просиявшим» – соч. Сергия Шелонина," in *Труды Отдела Древнерусской Литературы (ТОДРЛ)* V. 56 (С.-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин, 2004), 453–480.

13 Афанасий (Сахаров), еп. "О празднике всех святых в Земле Российской просиявших и о Службе на сей праздник," *Российский православный университет апостола Иоанна Богослова. Ученые записки*, 1 (1995): 93.

14 Игнатия (Петровская, Пузик), "О создании службы всем российским святым," *Альфа и Омега* 3 (44) (2005). <https://www.pravmir.ru/o-sozdanii-sluzhbyi-vsem-rossiyskim-svyatyim/>

The service created by Grigoriy, the oldest version of the services to all Russian saints is a solemn vigil service created according to the models of the existing Russian hymnography used in the 16th century, especially after the Macarius councils. Since the service is addressed to all Russian saints and consists of hymns devoted to specific saints, the hymns are often borrowed from the service of those saints with or without elaboration. Not only does this facilitate the creation of the service but it is also thematically justified. The service is a complex creation and illustrates the main principles of writing a new service used by many hymnographers at that time.

The service seems to me important as a perfect example of the service of the period after Macarius’s councils of the 1547 and 1549. Almost every service uses models and direct borrowings but at this time we can find more services compiled from borrowings¹⁵. The service for all Russian saints shows accuracy in using borrowings, so sometimes they do not need any adaptation and follow the main model of the Cheesefare service, using further models and borrowings for new hymns, which suit Russian saints better. A combination of borrowings, creation according to the model and creations made mainly of common topoi makes the new service original but at the same time full of recognizable allusions. The service starts with small vespers devoted mainly to the Baptizer of Rus, St Vladimir, and to the founder and monks of the Kievan Caves Monastery, St Anthony. Some hymns are borrowed without any changes (for example the text of the doxastikon for small vespers devoted to St Vladimir is borrowed directly from the service devoted to him). However, their different arrangement in the service makes it seem as though he is creating a new cycle. In cases of creating a common hymn to several saints, something can be borrowed from another service but there are still clear parallels with the original usage. For example, the beginning of the doxastikon at the end of the small vespers is borrowed from the service to the Holy Fathers of the First Council.

My purpose here is to present the hymns of small and great vespers in comparison to each other and show the mechanism of an accurate combination of the borrowed, adapted and newly-made hymns. For convenience, all the hymns are translated into English and in the case of borrowings, tables with comparisons of the model and the new hymn are employed.

2 SMALL VESPERS

First, let us examine the composition of small vespers.

TABLE 1: HYMNOGRAPHY FOR SMALL VESPERS

Stichera of ‘Lord I have cried’, mode 1, prosomoion ‘Wondrous miracle’	Дивное чудо: величавьи разумъ погубляется днесь и рыдают всячьская лукавая воиньства	Wondrous miracle! The dignified mind is being ruined today and all the evil powers are weeping.
	Дивная чудом пучина ты бысть, Василие, возрастивьи нам вѣтви Богонасажденная и цвѣты благоухания нам источающа	You are a wondrous abyss, O Basil, growing for us God-planted branches and exuding for us fragrant flowers.
	Дивно и преславно чудо: посьтил ны от востокъ свыше, великия ради милости	Wondrous and great miracle! You came to us the dawn from on high, for the sake of great mercy.

15 See, for example, V. Legkikh, “Двойная рецепция при формировании княжеской службы: служба св. Александру Невскому как модель,” *Scripta & e-Scripta 16-17* (2017): 107–131; V. Legkikh, “Формирование княжеской службы. Комплексный анализ наследия гимнографа 16 века Михаила,” *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach* 81 (2018): 231–255.

Doxastikon, mode 8	Приидѣте, стещемся, вси празднолюбци, к честнѣи памяти отца Рускаго и наставника нашего Владимира	Come, let us gather, all feast-lovers, for the all-holy commemoration of Vladimir, the father of Russia father and our mentor
Stichera Aposticha, mode 6	Преподобнѣ отче Антоние, восиялъ еси, яко солнце, и озарил еси Рускую страну	O reverend father Anthony, thou shone forth like the sun, and illuminated the Russian land
	Преподобнѣ отче Феодосие, земных маловременнаго жития избѣгл еси	Reverend father Theodosius, you have avoided earthly temporality
	Преподобни отци и цвѣти духовнии, Русѣи странѣ похвало и удобрение и всѣм вѣрным благоутишное пристанище	Reverend fathers and spiritual flowers, the praise and fundament for the Russian land and a shelter from storm for all the faithful
Doxastikon, mode 2	Таины днесь Духа трубы, Богоносныя отца восхвалим	Today we praise the secret trumpets of the Spirit, God-bearing fathers
Troparion, mode 3	Пречестная верста Богом возлюбленная, отци преблажени	Righteous coevals, beloved by God, the most blessed fathers

2.1 STICHERA OF ‘LORD, I HAVE CRIED’

The first cycle of stichera of ‘Lord, I have cried’ is devoted to St Vladimir, the converter of Rus, so the solution was to borrow the complete texts of the hymns devoted to him.

The first sticheron is directly borrowed from the service to St Vladimir, where it is the first sticheron in the cycle of the aposticha (Mode 1), in the great vespers of the vigil service of the latest version¹⁶.

TABLE 2: THE FIRST STICHERON

First Sticheron of the Aposticha of Great Vespers for St Vladimir, Mode 1 ¹⁷		First Sticheron of ‘Lord I have Cried’ of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 1 ¹⁸	
О преславное чудо!	O glorious miracle!	Дивное чудо:	A wondrous miracle:
Величавый разум погубляется днесь,	The dignified mind is being ruined today,	величавый разумъ погубляется днесь	The dignified mind is being ruined today,
и рыдают всяческая лукава воинства,	and all the evil powers are weeping,	и рыдают всячьская лукавая воинства,	and all the evil powers are weeping,
видиши вѣтви секуща всѣдичныя,	seeing the cutting off of the wild branches,	видяще вѣтвь сущую,	seeing the true branch,
силою Божиею и богонасаждаема и прославляема,	by God’s might both planted by God and glorified,	всесилною Божественною благодатию пресаждаему,	planted by the omnipotent divine grace,
и свѣтло венчаема от Бога,	and brightly crowned by God	и свѣтло вѣнчаема от Бога	and brightly crowned by God

16 We can see it in later manuscripts and in the version published in so called “green” menaion.

17 Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 133v.

18 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558–558v.

велика Василиа	the great Basil,	великаго Василиа,	the great Basil,
Нашего вѣрнаго началника	our faithful leader	нашего начальника крещению,	our leader to baptism
		и тѣмъ свѣтло просвѣти люди Своя	and with this, brightly enlighten Thy people with light
		во всѣхъ странах царствія Твоего Боже	in all the countries of Thy kingdom, O God.

The changes are minimal: there is a small addition, “и тѣмъ свѣтло просвѣти люди Своя во всѣхъ странах царствія Твоего Боже” (“and with this, enlighten Thy people with light in all the countries of Thy kingdom, O God”) at the end. This direct borrowing is caused by the fact that both hymns are for the same saint, the Baptizer of Rus. The decision to devote the first hymn to Vladimir creates also a deeper parallel with the beginning of Christianity and the Apostles, since it was he who converted Rus, and he was canonized as equal-to-the Apostles.

The second sticheron of small vespers is borrowed from the third sticheron of the cycle of ‘Lord I have cried’ (Mode 4) from the service to St Vladimir.

TABLE 3: THE SECOND STICHERON

Third Sticheron of ‘Lord, I have cried’ of Great Vespers for St Vladimir, Mode 4 ¹⁹		Second Sticheron of ‘Lord, I have cried’ of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 1 ²⁰	
Корень правовѣрія ты бысть еси, Василие ²¹ ,	You were the root of the true faith, O Basil,	Дивная чудом пучина ты бысть, Василие,	You are an abyss, wondrous with mi- racles, O Basil,
напоенъ же Духомъ Пресвятымъ,	filled with the Most Holy Spirit,		
возрастивыи намъ вѣтви богосадныа	growing for us God-planted bran- ches	возрастивыи нам вѣтви Богонасажденныа,	growing for us the God-planted bran- ches,
цвѣт благоуханія источающа	that exude the fra- grance of flowers,	и цвѣты благоуханія нам источающа	that exude the fra- grance of flowers
Бориса чуднаго и Глѣба, ревнителя благочестію	the wonderful Bo- ris, and Gleb, the zealots for piety	Бориса чуднаго и Глѣба, ревнителя благочестію	the wonderful Boris, and Gleb, the zealots for piety
кыпящи всѣм вѣрным обилно чудесы	who pour out abundant miracles to all the faithful.	кыпяща всѣм вѣрным обилно чудесы.	who pour out abun- dant miracles to all the faithful.
С нимиже предстоя Христу молися	Standing with them before Christ, pray	С нимиже предстоя Христу, молися царю нашему	Standing with them before Christ, pray to our King
		княземъ нашимъ подати побѣды на поганныа врагы	that our princes be granted victories over the infidel enemies
спасти и просвѣтити душа наша.	that our souls be saved and enlight- ened.	и умирити всего мира, и спасти души наша.	and peace to all the world, and that our souls be saved.

19 Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 132v.

20 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558v.

21 Basil is the Christian name of Vladimir.

The only difference between these texts is the first phrase, which is the first phrase of the second sticheron of the cycle of the aposticha (Mode 1) of great vespers of the service to St. Vladimir on 15 July. The technique of combining texts was popular in the 16th century and particularly beloved by the hymnographer Mikhail, who created a service to St Alexander Nevsky.²² The hymnographer Mikhail often combined the first part of one borrowed hymn with the second part of the next borrowed hymn to the same saint, but it was also possible to take two different hymns for a new compilation, so two parts of two different hymns were used to create a new one. In this example (Table 3), we see only the first phrase taken from the other hymn to the same saint, so the combination is the following: one phrase comes from one sticheron to St Vladimir and the rest is from another sticheron to him, taken from the same service. The reason for this change in the borrowed hymn could be the relation to the first sticheron: both stichera in the new service have almost an anaphorical beginning connected with a miracle: “Дивное чудо” and “Дивная чудом пучина ты бысть, Василие”.

Another reason for changing the incipit is that direct borrowing is less recognizable with a different incipit, and it also provides a parallel with another sticheron to St Vladimir “Дивная чудом пучина, жестосердии Бога не разумеша”. It is also important that in both stichera, the children of St Vladimir, Ss Boris and Gleb, are mentioned. In St Vladimir’s sticheron, Ss Boris and Gleb are called branches coming from the root. This image leads us to the next sticheron, where the image is further developed as many branches, coming from the same root.

The third sticheron is created mainly from known *topoi*, by using an idea from the first troparion of the sixth ode of the canon to St Vladimir. The second part of the sticheron mentions the names of certain saints.

TABLE 4: THE THIRD STICHERON

First Troparion of the Sixth Ode of the Canon to St Vladimir ²³		Third Sticheron of ‘Lord, I have cried’ of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 1 ²⁴	
Благочестию ревнитель,	By your piety, you were a zealot	Дивно и преславно чудо	Oh, wondrous and glorified miracle
славнаго царя Константина ты бысть, Василие,	O Basil, of the glorious king Constantine,	посѣтил ны Господь от востокъ свыше,	You came to us, O Lord, the dawn from the high,
просвѣтившаго крещениемъ еллиньскаго рода,	who enlightened by baptism the Hellenic race,	великия ради милости,	by the great mercy,
ты же духовною банею люди своя пресвѣтло обновил еси	while You magnificently renewed Your people by the spiritual bath		

22 See, for example, V. Legkikh, “On the Question of the Heritage of Michael, a Sixteenth-Century Hymnographer: The Mechanism of the Creation of a Service,” in *Creating Liturgically: Hymnography and Music. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music. University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland, 8–14 June 2015*, ed. Ivan Moody & Maria Takala-Roszczenko (Joensuu: Kopijyvä, 2017), 69–81.

23 Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 139–139v.

24 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558v.

		просвети и освяти люди Своя банею благочестия, святым Крещением,	enlighten and sanctify Thy people by the spiritual bath, the holy baptism,
		и дарова нам наставники и укрѣпители вѣре, преподобныя отца	having granted us mentors and fortifiers of the faith, the rever- end fathers,
		ихже сошедшееся согласно ублажим	whom we praise, ha- ving come together,
		Антония, Руския земли мнихом првоначальника,	Anthony, the first leader of the monks of the Russian land,
		Феодосия же ревнителя спасению,	Theodosius, a zealot for the salvation,
		и Дионисия, добродѣтелем наставника	and Dionysios, the guide to virtues,
		ихже молитвами от мы ко свѣту приближаемся	with their prayers we come nearer to light.

The first phrase of this sticheron also mentions a miracle, so all three stichera form a cycle with an anaphorical beginning, springing from the prosomoion of the cycle. It should also be mentioned that the first and the third stichera are almost identical in their initial phrase. The second part of the sticheron is on account of the fact that the service is devoted to all Russian saints. The third sticheron makes a bridge between Vladimir, the root of Russian Christianity, and other Russian saints, coming like branches from this root. Here the image of branches is not used, it is given in the previous sticheron, but through the quotation of the sticheron to St. Vladimir “enlighten and sanctify Thy people by the spiritual bath, the holy baptism” it can be made a connection with his image combined with the image of the branches coming from the same root.

Thus, in the cycle we can see three different possibilities of creating a new hymnographical work used in the 16th century: direct borrowing, direct borrowing of the incipit from one hymn and the rest of the text from another, and free use of topoi of the model. Nevertheless, the work can still be seen as an original one because of the music: not only are the prosomoia, attributed to the model texts, not identical to the new ones, but the models also belong to three different modes. Only in the first sticheron, the musical mode follows the model (mode 1). Since the first new sticheron uses the technique of direct borrowing from the model text, it would have probably been difficult to change the mode, yet its prosomoion is different. In the three stichera, we also see an interesting development in that the first sticheron is devoted to St Vladimir alone, while the second is devoted to St Vladimir and Ss Boris and Gleb, and the third to St Vladimir and all Russian saints coming after him.

The doxastikon at the end of this cycle demonstrates the classical style of borrowing in the 16th century, since all of it has been borrowed, including the mode. In this case, the source is the doxastikon in mode 8 for St Vladimir.

TABLE 5: DOXASTIKON

Doxastikon for St Vladimir, Mode 8 ²⁵		Doxastikon for All Saints, Mode 8 ²⁶	
Приидѣте, сътецемся вси	Come, let us gather all together	Приидѣте, стецемся, вси праздниколюбцы,	Come, let meet all of us, the feast-lovers,
къ честнѣи памяти отца Русскаго и наставника нашего Владимира:	to the righteous com- memoration of the father of Russia father and our mentor:	къ честнѣи памяти отца Русскаго и наставника нашего Владимира.	the pure commemo- ration of the father of Russia and our mentor.
съ бо от еллин родися,	He was born of pa- gans,	Сей бо, от еллин рождься,	He was born of pa- gans,
и възлюби възлюбившаго и Христа,	and he loved Christ Who loved him,	возлюбивъ возлюблевшаго Христа,	and he loved Christ Who loved him.
и к Немуже възде, радуяся,	to Him he rose, reji- cing	к Немуже възде, радуяся,	He rose to Him reji- cing,
съ праматерию своею Еленою ²⁷ .	with his grandmother Helen	съ праматерию Еленою	with his grandmother Helen
Вся бо люди своя научи вѣровати	all his people he taught to believe	вся люди своя научи вѣровати	He taught all his folk to believe
и покланятися въ Троици единому Богу,	and to bow down to God, One in Trinity,	и покланятися в Троице Единому Богу,	and to bow to God, One in Trinity.
а идолы упразднѣвъ, попра	he trampled idols and destroyed them	а идолы же разрушив, попра	he trampled idols and destroyed them
и израсти нами свои честнѣи лѣторасли, Романа и Давыда ²⁸ .	and grew for us his righteous shoots, Ro- man and David.	и израсти нам свои честнѣи лѣторасли, Романа и Давыда.	and grew for us his righteous shoots, Ro- man and David.
Тѣмъже и мы, свѣтло нынѣ пѣсми память их вѣрно чтуще, любовию празнуем	Therefore also we, today brightly and faithfully venerating their memory with songs, celebrate with love;	тѣм и мы, свѣтло чтуща нынѣ, пѣсми память ихъ вѣрно, праздуем	Therefore also we, brightly venerating today, with songs their memory faithfully celebrate;
да молятся къ Господу,	let them pray to the Lord	молятся ко Господу	pray to the Lord
князем нашим подати побѣду на поганья врагы	to grant victory to our princes over the pagan enemies,		
умирити всего мира, и спасти душа наша.	to grant peace to all the world and to save our souls.	испросити мир мирови и душам нашим велию милость.	[that they] beseech peace to the world and great mercy to our souls.

The direct borrowing employed in this sticheron concludes the composition of the first cycle (of 'Lord, I have cried'), which is thus both begun and concluded by using this technique. With regard to the model text, the doxastikon almost does not change place in the service, since in the service to St Vladimir it belongs to the same cycle of stichera of 'Lord, I have cried' of great vespers. The analysis of the first cycle thus shows the

25 Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 132v–133.

26 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558.

27 The Christian name of the great princess Olga.

28 The Christian names of the sons of the great prince Vladimir Boris and Gleb.

movement from one to many saints, from the root to the branches, and it immediately conveys the main idea of the service: after the conversion, Rus came to be perceived as a “holy land”.

2.2 STICHERA APOSTICHA

The cycle for the aposticha is devoted to the first Russian monastics, the founders of the Kievan Caves monastery, St Anthony and St Theodosius, yet it uses incipits common to many other cycles of this service. There is no direct borrowing from the original services to St Theodosius or to St Anthony.

The new sticheron to St Anthony is a combination of known topoi from existing hymns dedicated to Russian monastics. The present composition is, however, more elaborate and creative. The common incipit, ‘O venerable father’, is followed by a phrase that is used in many hymns, referring to the saint as a rising sun. We see it also in the kontakion to St Anthony, ‘яко светозарное солнце, во вся концы земли возсиял еси’ (‘like a brightly shining sun, you shone to all the ends of the earth’).

The technique of combining is even more clearly visible in the following phrase, which is borrowed from the troparion to St Barlaam of Khutyn, which, in turn, borrows from the Canon to St Paul (Ode 1, troparion 3, in Mode 8): ‘по закону же фарисѣи явлься, вмѣнилъ еси вся уметы и Христа приобрѣлъ еси’²⁹ (‘[although] you were one of the Pharisees, you came to consider everything as manure and received Christ’). After this, we see a free composition according to the model of the troparion to St Anthony:

TABLE 6A: THE FIRST STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Troparion for St Anthony of the Kievan Caves, Mode 4 ³⁰	Canon to St Barlaam of Khutyn, Ode 1, Troparion 3 ³¹	First Sticheron of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 6 ³²
		Преподобнѣ отче Антоние,
		возсиялъ еси яко солнце,
От мирьскаго мятежа исшед, в тихое пристанище		и озарилъ еси Русскую страну,
Святѣя Горы Афона достигль еси, идеже	<u>Земленаа и мимо текущаа, аки уметы вмѣнися,</u>	<u>земная и мимо текущая аки умѣты вменив</u>
равноагелъно житие пожилъ еси,	<u>и Христа единого приобрѣлъ еси (...)</u>	<u>Христа единого приобрѣлъ еси,</u>
оттудуже пришедъ, отче Антоние,		и яже в Киевѣ пещеру Богодарованную ти,
Отечество си просвѣтилъ еси		яко градъ сдѣлал еси,
множеству иночествующих стезю,		и собра инок множества,
Христови привелъ еси,		с нимиже моля ко Господу,
Егоже моли спастися душам нашим.		спастися нам

29 Quoted from the Menaion of 1514, RSL, F 304, no. 568, f. 192.

30 Quoted from the Menaion of the 16th century, RSL, F 304, no. 551, f. 282–282v.

31 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 501, f. 94.

32 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558–558v.

TABLE 6B: THE FIRST STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA (TRANSLATION)

Troparion for St Anthony of the Kievan Caves monastery, Mode 4³³	Canon to St Barlaam of Khutyn, Ode 1, Troparion 3	First Sticheron of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 6
		O venerable father Anthony,
You left the tumult of the world to follow Christ according to the Gospel		You arose like the sun,
you led a life equal to the Angels and reached the haven of Mount Athos.		and lit up the Russian land,
	you have considered earthly and ephemeral things as manure	you have considered earthly and ephemeral things as manure
	you received only Christ (...)	you received only Christ
From thence with your fathers' blessing you illumined your fatherland at Kiev,		And the cave in Kiev, given to you by God,
		you made into the likeness of a town
where you led a multitude of monks along the path to Christ and His kingdom.		and you gathered a multitude of monks,
Pray to Him, O Holy Anthony, that He may save our souls		with them pray to the Lord
		to save us.

The new sticheron to St Theodosius is an edited doxastikon of the common service to the holy fathers.

TABLE 7: THE SECOND STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Doxastikon of the Common Service to Holy Fathers³⁴		Second Sticheron of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 6³⁵	
Преподобни отцы,	Venerable fathers,	Преподобнѣ отче Феодосие,	Venerable father Theodosius,
мира красоты и пища временныя отнюдь возненавидѣвши,	you came to hate the beauty of the world and the temporal food,	земных маловременнаго жития избѣгль еси,	you have turned away from earthly temporality,
иноческое житие паче възлюбльши,	and to love monastic life more,	и иноческое житие паче възлюбив,	and loved monastic life more,
и агелом собесѣдници бысте,	you were collocutors of angels,	ангеломъ собесѣдниче,	you were a collocutor of angels,

33 The translation is quoted from the Internet source http://www.coptics.info/Bishop_Alexander/saints_july_aug.htm. It is a translation of a slightly different contemporary version: От мирскаго мятежа испед, отвержением же мира евангельски Христу последовал еси и равноангельное житие пожив, в тихое пристанище Святыя Горы Афона достигл еси. Отонудуже благословением отцев в гору Киева пришед, и тамо трудолюбно жизнь совершив, Отечество свое просветил еси, и множеству монашествующих стезю ведущую к Небесному Царствию показав, Христу сия привел еси. Егоже моли, Антоние преподобне, да спасет души наша.

34 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 98, no. 99, f. 47.

35 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558v.

и свѣтилиници многосвѣтлии вселеннѣи	and radiant illumina- tors of the universe.	бѣсом полки погубил еси	and you destroyed regiments of demons.
чюдесми якоже второе солнце сияюще,	You shine by your miracles like a second sun,		
но о всѣх нас поминаите,	yet remember us all,		
совершающихъ священную память вашу,	who commemorate your holy memory,		
мы бо чада ваша	for we are your child- ren	мы бо правый путь	We have learnt from you to walk on the right path,
и овцы словесныхъ вашихъ учении	and sheep of your ver- bal teaching	тобою шествовати вѣдѣхом,	
и васъ на помощь призываемъ	and we call you for help	и тя на помощь призываемъ,	and we call you for help,
просяще вами прияти миръ и велию милость	praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.	просяще тобою приятти миръ и велию милость	praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.

It can be seen that the adaptation mainly concerns shortening the original text by removing some phrases. The only actual changes are found in the second phrase where “you came to hate the beauty of the world and the temporal food” is changed into “you have turned away from earthly temporality”. The change does not affect the sense of the phrase much, yet it gives more novelty to the new hymn.

The third sticheron is a de-personalised composition on a known topoi:

TABLE 8: THE THIRD STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Third Sticheron of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 6 ³⁶	
Преподобнии отци и цвѣти духовнии,	Venerable fathers and spiritual flowers,
Русскѣй странѣ похвало и удобрѣние	the praise and ornament of the Russian land
и всѣмъ вѣрнымъ благоутишное пристанище,	and shelter from storm for all the faithful,
Русская же земля, проповѣдуя хвалится:	The Russian land proclaims and praises herself,
имѣя бо, рече, в собѣ неисощимое сокровище,	having, she says, an inexhaustible treasure,
яже бо и тѣлеснѣ языкъ умолче,	of which the physical tongue remains silent,
но чюдеса свидѣтельствуютъ	but the miracles testify
прославльшаго васъ Господа,	to the Lord, who has glorified you.
Ему же молитесь	Pray to Him
даровати намъ велию милость.	to grant us great mercy.

As in the cycle for “Lord, I have cried”, we can see different ways of borrowing and composing with common topoi. This cycle also has an anaphorical beginning (“Venerable father”), and the composition develops from the first two stichera, praising mainly one saint, to the third which is devoted to many and composed using common topoi.

36 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558v.

The beginning of the last doxastikon of small vespers is borrowed from the doxastikon devoted to the Seventh Ecumenical Council (the seventh week after Pentecost):

TABLE 9A: DOXASTIKON OF THE APOSTICHA

Doxastikon devoted to the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Mode 6		Doxastikon of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 2	
Таинья днесъ Духа трубы	The secret trumpets of the Spirit,	Тайная днесъ Духа трубы,	The secret trumpets of the Spirit,
Богоносныя отцы восхвалим,	the God-bearing fathers, we praise today	Богоносныя отцы восхвалим	the God-bearing fathers, we praise today

After this phrase, the doxastikon continues with a list of the saints. In this case, the adaptation includes a change of the mode: the original sticheron in the sixth mode becomes a sticheron in the second mode.

TABLE 9B: DOXASTIKON OF THE APOSTICHA

Doxastikon, Mode 2 ³⁷	
Тайны днесъ Духа трубы,	Sacred trumpets of the Spirit,
Богоносныя отцы восхвалим:	the God-bearing fathers, we praise today:
Владимера преблагенаго,	the most blessed Vladimir,
ликовствующе, купно прославим Антония, и Феодосия и Дионисия,	with gladness, together with him we praise Anthony, Theodosius and Dionysios,
наставники иноком,	mentors of monastics,
с нимиже блажим и Сергия, и Варлаамия и Еуфимия и Кирила,	with them we praise Sergius, and Barlaam and Euthymius and Cyril,
Димитрия, и Авраамия, Пафнутия и Макария	Demetrius, and Abramius, Paphnutius and Marcarius,
и вся прочия русския светильники.	and all other Russian luminaries.
Днесъ торжество ваше свѣтло празнуем, преподобнии отци,	Today we brightly celebrate your triumph, O venerable fathers,
молите о нас ко Господу, спасти душа наша.	pray for us to the Lord, to save our souls.

In this doxastikon, the general acclamation precedes the naming of saints, those already venerated in the service (Ss Vladimir, Anthony and Theodosius) and those who will be praised further in the service.

2.3 TROPARION

The troparion uses the incipit from ‘other’ stichera on ‘Lord, I have cried’ for the service to Ss Boris and Gleb on 24 July, and there is only one known version of this service.

37 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 33, f. 558v–559.

TABLE 10A: TROPARION FOR ALL SAINTS

First 'Other' Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried' to Ss Boris and Gleb, Mode 1 ³⁸		Troparion for All Saints, Mode 3	
Пречестная верста и Богомъ възлюбленая	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,	Пречестная верста, Боговозлюбленая,	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,
мученика пресловущая Борисе и Глѣбе	great martyrs Boris and Gleb,	отци преблaжении, православию наставници	most blessed fathers, mentors of Orthodoxy,

This incipit is followed by topoi related to the holy fathers.

TABLE 10B: TROPARION FOR ALL SAINTS

Troparion for All Saints, Mode 3 ³⁹	
Пречестная верста, Боговозлюбленая,	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,
отци преблaжении, православию наставници,	most blessed fathers, mentors of Orthodoxy,
в небесныя обители, яко на колесници, добродѣтели въздосте,	to the heavenly abode, as if on a chariot, you rose with your virtues,
теплии заступници Руская земли	tender intercessors for the Russian land
и всѣмъ вѣрнымъ странамъ утверждение,	and foundation for all faithful countries,
Христу молитесь	pray to Christ
даровати намъ велию милость.	to grant us great mercy.

The new troparion makes an interesting reference to the first canonized Russian saints, Boris and Gleb. While they are not mentioned by name, the borrowed incipit creates an allusion to the beginnings of Russian Christianity and its roots.

3 GREAT VESPERS

TABLE 11: COMPOSITION OF THE GREAT VESPERS

Stichera of 'Lord, I have cried', mode 6, prosomoion 'O wonderful miracle'	Святителю отче блаженныи Алексѣе, апостоломъ наслѣднице	O blessed holy father Alexios, the heir of the apostles
	Святителю отче Петре, свѣтилнице многосвѣтлыи Руския земля	O holy father, the blessed Peter, a radiant illuminator of the Russian land
	Святителемъ память и царю нашему дръжава	The commemoration of saints and the power of our king

38 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion LMAB, F 19, no. 170, f. 197.

39 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559.

Stichera of 'Lord, I have cried', mode 6, prosomoion 'Venerable father'	Преподобнѣ отче, душу свою с тѣлом очистив	Venerable father, you purified your soul and your body
	Богумудре отче славне Еуфимие, постником ты бысть похвала	Venerable father, glorious Euthymius, you are the praise of those who fast
	Преподобни отци, поем и воспѣваем пресвѣтлое тръжество ваше	Venerable fathers, we sing and praise your magnificent triumph
Doxastikon, mode 8	Днесь благодать Святаго Духа просвѣти и освѣти Рускую землю	Today the grace of the Holy Spirit enlightens and sanctifies the Russian land
3 paroimia		
Stichera of the Lity, mode 1	Приидите снидитесь людие рустии к честнѣи памяти Владимира преблаженаго	Come together, Russian people, to the pure memory of the blessed Vladimir
	Радуися царство Руское вѣрное, прежде бѣ невѣрно	Rejoice, the faithful Russian realm, which before was unfaithful
	Пречестная верста возлюбленная, мученика пресловущая Борисъ и Глѣбе	Righteous beloved coevals, the great martyrs Boris and Gleb,
	Придѣте вси вѣрнии, преподобных отецъ лик воспоем	Come, all faithful, let us praise with songs the choir of the venerable fathers
	Кто изречет от земнородных чюдная ваша жития	Who among the earth-born can describe your miraculous lives
Doxastikon, mode 6	Иже по образу соблюдше невредима	You preserved the image undefiled
Stichera of the Aposticha, mode 2	Свѣтила руская мученици прехвалнии, святители же, просвѣтители верѣ	Most praised luminaries, Russian martyrs, holy fathers, and enlighteners of the faiths
	Вси помолимся Христу, иже творяще память днесь	Let us all pray to Christ, Who makes this day the commemoration
	Вси пѣсми духовными возопием, красуися и веселися граде Суждале	Let us sing spiritual songs, rejoice and be joyful, o city of Suzdal
Doxastikon, mode 6	Отеческии составъ, празднолюбци, придите и пѣсми восхвалим	Come, let us praise with songs the fatherly company

The hymns of great vespers are devoted to Moscow saints.

3.1 STICHERA OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

The first sticheron is devoted to St Alexios of Moscow. It is created according to the model of the troparion to St Peter of Moscow, with the addition of the miracle of St Alexios from his *vita*.

TABLE 12: THE FIRST STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

Troparion to St Peter of Moscow, Mode 4 ⁴⁰		First Sticheron of 'Lord, I have Cried' for All Saints, Mode 6 ⁴¹	
Благовѣрно поживѣ в мире житие чисто,	You lived your life in the world virtuously and in purity,	Святителю отче блаженнии Алексѣе	O blessed holy father Alexios,
просвѣтив учением вселенную святительства приемъ паству,	enlightening the world by your priestly teaching, you received a flock,	апостоломъ наслѣднице	heir of the apostles,
апостоломъ наслѣднице.	O heir of the apostles.	ты Русскую землю учении своими всю просвѣтил еси	you enlightened the Russian land by your teachings,
Тем приемъ даръ чудесъ от Бога, отче Петре,	For this you received the gift of miracles from God, O father Peter,	и, приимъ чудесъ дар от Бога,	and, having received a gift of miracles from God,
		невѣрнаго царя царицю шедъ в Орду, исцелил еси	going to the Horde, you healed the queen of an infidel king.
		но не забуди отчины своей, Русския земля.	Do not forget your homeland, the Russian land,
моли Христа Бога Господа	pray to the Lord, Christ [our] God	Но всѣхъ насъ поминаи, предстои во славу Христу Богу	but pray for us all, standing in glory before Christ [our] God
да спасет души наша	to save our souls.	да спасеть тебѣ ради душа наша.	to save through your intercession our souls.

The choice of the model is interesting, as the second sticheron in the new service is devoted to the same St Peter of Moscow. The author does not use direct borrowing, but the model is still recognizable. The mode is also changed. The model connects two Muscovite saints on the textual level but with small changes; the addition of St Alexios's miracle and the change of the mode make the borrowing more discrete.

The second sticheron, which is now devoted to St Peter of Moscow, is an edited doxastikon of the common service to the holy fathers, which we have already seen among the models for the hymns in the small vespers (in the case of the sticheron to St Theodosius, which featured almost direct borrowing from the original). The doxastikon to the holy fathers was borrowed, in turn, to the service to St Sergius of Radonezh with a small change ("the Russian land" instead of "the universe"). From that service, the doxastikon was borrowed to the service to St Euthymius of Suzdal. Since the latter two are identical, it is difficult to say whether the service to all saints borrowed from the service to St Euthymius of Suzdal or to St Sergius of Radonezh. In any case, in the service to all saints it is shortened, and the last lines are changed, and as we have already seen with small vespers, the mode is also changed.

40 Quoted from the 17th-century Calendar and Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 365, f. 37v.

41 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion (RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559) where it is the first sticheron. Other manuscripts change this order and give it as the second one.

TABLE 13A: THE SECOND STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

Doxastikon of the Common Service to Reverend Fathers, Mode 8 ⁴²	Doxastikon of Small Vespers to St Sergius of Radonezh, Mode 8 ⁴³	Doxastikon for St Euthymius of Suzdal, Mode 8 ⁴⁴	First Sticheron for St Peter of Moscow, Mode 6 ⁴⁵
Преподобни отцы, мира красоты, и пища временныя отнюд възненавидѣвше,	Преподобне отче, мира красоты, и пища временныя отнюд възненавидѣ,	Преподобнѣ отче Еуфимие, мира красоты и пища временныя отнюд возненавидѣ,	Святителю, отче Петре,
иноческое житие паче взлюбльше,	иноческое житие паче вълюбивъ,	иноческое житие паче возлюби,	
и аггелом собесѣдници бысте,	и аггелом събесѣдникъ быти сподобися,	и аггеломъ сбѣсѣдник быв сподобися,	
и свѣтилници многосвѣтлии вселеннѣи,	и свѣтиликъ многосвѣтлыи Русскыя земля,	и свѣтиленик многосвѣтлы Суждаскыя земли,	свѣтиличе многосвѣтлыи Руския земля,
чюдесми якоже второе солнце сияюще.	чюдесми якоже второе солнце сияя.	чюдесми якоже второе солнце сияя.	чюдесми во царствующем граде Москвѣ, яко второе солнце, сияя,
Но о всѣх нас поминайте, свершающихъ священную память твою:	Но всѣх насъ поминаи, свершающихъ священную память твою:	Но всѣхъ нас поминаи свершающихъ священную память твою:	но всех нас поминаи, свершающихъ священную память твою,
мы бо чада ваша, и овци словесных ти учении,	мы бо чада твоя, и овца словесных ти учении,	мы бо чада твоя и овца словесных ти учении,	мы бо чада твоя
и васъ на помощь призываем,	и тя на помощь призываем,	и тя на помощь призываем,	и твою память свѣтло празднуем
просяще вами прияти мира и велию милость.	просяще тобою прияти мира и велию милость.	просяще тобою прияти миръ и велия милости	отче преблажене Петре,
			моли Христа Бога да спасеть тебе ради душа наша.

42 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 98, no. 99, f. 47. For the service to one holy father it was often taken from the service to several, as it is in this manuscript. Thus I also quote from the service for several holy fathers.

43 Quoted from the Menaion for September of 1505, RSL, F 304, no. 466, f. 271v.

44 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 539–539v.

45 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559–559v; in some other manuscripts it is the first sticheron. Other manuscripts change this order and give it as the second.

TABLE 13B: THE SECOND STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED' (TRANSLATION)

Doxastikon of the Common Service to Holy Fathers, Mode 8	Doxastikon of Small Vespers to St Sergius of Radonezh, Mode 8	Doxastikon of Small Vespers to St Euthymius of Suzdal, Mode 8	First Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried' to All Saints, Mode 6
Venerable fathers,	Venerable father,	Venerable father,	O holy father Peter,
you came to hate the beauty of the world and the temporal food,	you came to hate the beauty of the world and temporal food,	you came to hate the beauty of the world and temporal food,	
and to love monastic life more,	and to love the monastic life more.	and to love the monastic life more.	
you were collocutors of angels,	You were allowed to be a collocutor of angels	You were allowed to be a collocutor of angels	
and radiant illuminators of the universe.	and a radiant illuminator of the Russian land,	and a radiant illuminator of the Suzdal land,	a radiant illuminator of the Russian land,
You shine by your miracles like a second sun,	shining by your miracles like a second sun.	shining by your miracles like a second sun.	shining by your miracles in the royal city of Moscow like a second sun,
yet remember us all, who commemorate your holy memory,	Yet remember us all, who commemorate your holy memory:	Yet remember us all, who commemorate your holy memory:	Yet remember us all, who commemorate your holy memory,
for we are your children, and sheep of your verbal teaching,	for we are your children, and sheep of your verbal teaching,	for we are your children, and sheep of your verbal teaching,	for we are your children,
and we call you for help	and we call you for help	and we call you for help	and we brightly celebrate your memory.
praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.	praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.	praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.	O most blessed Peter, pray to Christ God to save, by your intercession, our souls.

The third sticheron, as was the case in small vespers, is a combination of topoi used in Russian services, in general.

TABLE 14: THE THIRD STICHERON OF 'LORD I HAVE CRIED'

Third Sticheron for All Saints of 'Lord I have Cried', Mode 6 ⁴⁶	
Святителем память и царю нашему державо,	The commemoration of saints and the power of our king,
веселие бо торжество ваше,	joyful is your triumph,
отци преблжении,	O most blessed fathers,
и, о том хвалящися, глаголемъ:	and, praising it, we say,

46 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion. RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559v.

не забудьте отчины своя, Руския земля,	do not forget your fatherland, the Russian land,
но всѣх нас поминайте,	but remember us all,
свершающих память вашу,	who celebrate your memory,
всесвятїи отци,	O all-holy fathers,
молитесь за нас ко Господу.	pray for us to the Lord.

We can observe that the composition of this cycle is the same as in the small vespers: the first and the second stichera are mainly devoted to one saint and the third to all Russian saints. All three stichera also have an anaphorical incipit (which is changed a little in the third). Thus we can already see that in his cycles, Grigoriy tries to preserve the same composition.

The next cycle of stichera is devoted to monks of Holy Trinity Lavra of St Sergius. The first sticheron demonstrates direct borrowing from the service to St Sergius of Radonezh, without even changing the mode, as we have already seen in the small vespers, where the first sticheron is directly borrowed from the service to St. Vladimir.

TABLE 15: THE FIRST “OTHER” STICHERON OF ‘LORD, I HAVE CRIED’

First Sticheron for St Sergius of Radonezh on ‘Lord I have Cried’ in the Small Vespers, Mode 5 ⁴⁷		First ‘Other’ Sticheron for All Saints of ‘Lord, I have cried’, Mode 5 ⁴⁸	
Преподобне отче, душу свою с тѣлом очистивъ,	Venerable father, you purified your soul and your body,	Преподобнѣ отче, душу твою с тѣлом очистив	Venerable father, you purified your soul and your body,
Святому Духу прекраснаа обитель явися,	and you appeared as a beautiful abode for the Holy Spirit,	и Святому Духу прекрасная обитель явися,	and you appeared as a beautiful abode for the Holy Spirit,
и славна тя концем, преблажене Сергие, съдѣя:	who made you fully praised, o most blessed Sergius,	иже славна тя концем, преблажене Сергие, содея,	who made you fully praised, o most blessed Sergius,
въ чудесѣх же великаго свѣтилника,	great illuminator in miracles,	в чудесѣх же великаго светилника,	great illuminator in miracles,
просвѣтивша въ мрацѣ суцаа, яко наставника иноком,	who has enlightened those in darkness, as a mentor to monastics,	просвѣтивша во мрацѣ сущая, яко наставника иноком,	who has enlightened those in darkness, as a mentor to monastics,
спедшесе велемудрено уболажим.	we, having gathered together, venerate with wisdom.	спедшесе, велемудрено уболажим.	we, having gathered together, venerate with wisdom.

The second sticheron is devoted to St Euthymius of Suzdal. Here there is no direct borrowing, but it is possible to see that the stichera of ‘Lord, I have cried’ from the service to St Euthymius serve as models.

47 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 397v.

48 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559v.

TABLE 16A: THE SECOND “OTHER” STICHERON OF ‘LORD, I HAVE CRIED’

Second Sticheron for St Euthymius, of ‘Lord, I have cried’, Mode 5 ⁴⁹	Third Sticheron for St Euthymius of ‘Lord, I have cried’, Mode 5 ⁵⁰	Second Sticheron for All Saints on ‘Lord, I have cried’, Mode 5 ⁵¹
Преподобне отче, Еуфимие	Преподобне отче, Еуфимие,	Богомудре отче славне Еуфимие,
благодать прием Пресвятаго Духа,	в незаходима вѣшел еси,	<u>ПОСТНИКОМ ТЫ БЫСТЬ ПОХВАЛА</u>
	и Святому Духу прекрасная обитель явися,	
	<u>мира красоты отнюд возненавиде,</u>	<u>мира красоты отнюдь возненавидѣ</u>
	высоки чрътозѣх добродѣтели предуготовавъ, <...>	
от младых ногтеи Бога возлюбилъ еси		<u>от юности Бога возлюби,</u>
и бѣсом погубил еси полки,		
<u>и тѣсный путь шествовал еси,</u>		<u>и тѣсныи путь шествовалъ еси.</u>
<u>ПОСТНИКОМ ТЫ БЫСТЬ ПОХВАЛА</u> <...>		Суждальской свѣтлыи свѣтилнице,
		и всея Руси теплыи заступнице,
		моляся о нас ко Господу
		помиловати душа наша

TABLE 16B: THE SECOND “OTHER” STICHERON OF ‘LORD, I HAVE CRIED’ (TRANSLATION)

Second Sticheron for St Euthymius of ‘Lord I have Cried’, Mode 5	Third Sticheron for St Euthymius of ‘Lord I have Cried’, Mode 5	Second Sticheron of for All Saints on ‘Lord I have Cried’, Mode 5
Venerable father Euthymius,	Venerable father Euthymius,	Wise-in-God father, glorious Euthymius,
you received the grace of Holy Spirit,	you entered in the place of no entrance,	you are the praise of those who fast,
	and you appeared as the beautiful abode for the Holy Spirit,	
	you came to hate the beauty of the world,	you came to hate the beauty of the world,
	preparing high bridal chambers by your virtues,	

49 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 539v.

50 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 540.

51 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559v–560.

you loved God from your young nails [years]		you loved God from your youth,
and you destroyed the regiments of demons		
going by the narrow path.		going by the narrow path.
You are the praise of those who fast [...]		bright luminary of Suzdal,
		the tender intercessor for all Rus,
		pray for us to the Lord
		to have mercy on our souls.

The new sticheron was compiled from the lines of two existing hymns in sequence. The verses conclude with two added lines which are not encountered in the models but which are typical ending phrases in a hymn dedicated to a holy father. It is interesting that here the mode remains the same, since the combination of different lines of the two hymn-models already provides a novelty.

The third sticheron, as has already become clear, is typically composed of common topoi. The same can be said about the doxastikon. Even if this sticheron is devoted to only one saint, it features a composition of usual topoi related to services that are devoted to saints.

TABLE 17: DOXASTIKON

Doxastikon, Mode 8⁵²	
Днесь благодать Святаго Духа	Today the grace of the Holy Spirit
просвѣти и освѣти Русскую землю,	enlightens and sanctifies the Russian land,
обѣтшавшую грѣхом:	decayed by sin.
Господи, Духъ Твои послал еси	Lord, Your Spirit is sent
крѣпкоразумную душу славнаго князя Владимира,	to the firm-minded soul of the praised Prince Vladimir,
познати Тебѣ, Единого от Троица	so that he would know You, One of the Trinity
и в Троици Христа Бога.	and in the Trinity, Christ God.
и твоим крещением просвѣтивъ	Becoming enlightened by Your baptism
Богоизбраныя Твоя, своя от Тебѣ порученыя люди ему,	Your divinely chosen ones, the people entrusted by You to him
и приведе к Тебѣ, вѣрою вопиюща:	and brought to You, proclaim in faith:
ускорй, Щедрый, подщися	'Make haste, O Generous One,
и спасти от прегрѣшении мира.	save us from the sins of the world'.

This doxastikon, which is devoted to St Vladimir, can be seen as a prelude to the next cycle, which is again devoted to the beginning of the Christianization of Russia.

3.2 STICHERA OF THE LITY

The stichera of the Lity bring us back to the first Russian saints. The first sticheron is devoted to St Vladimir, the second to St Vladimir and St Olga and the third to Ss Boris

52 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 560.

and Gleb. They are created in such a way that one can see a combination of recognizable and not quite recognizable hymns.

The first sticheron uses the beginning of the doxastikon to St Vladimir, but the reworked version is much shorter and does not include any biographical facts.

TABLE 18: THE FIRST STICHERON AT THE LITY

Doxastikon for St Vladimir, Mode 8⁵³		First Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 1⁵⁴	
Приидѣте сътецемся вси,	Come, let us gather all together	Приидите, снидите, людие рустии,	Come together, Russian people,
къ честней памяти отца русскаго и наставника нашего Владимира:	for, the righteous commemoration of Vladimir, of the Russian father and our mentor:	къ честнѣи памяти Владимира преблаженнаго,	to the pure memory of the blessed Vladimir,
съ бо от еллин родися,	he was born of pagans,	угодника Христова преславнаго,	the glorious saint of Christ,
и възлюби възлюбившаго и Христа,	and he loved Christ Who loved him,	примете благодать,	receive grace,
и к Нему же възъде радуяся, <...>	to Him he arose, rejoicing [...]	и спасение, и живот, и велию милость.	and salvation, and life, and great mercy.

We can see that instead of direct borrowing, the sticheron is a new creation on the basis of the model. The mode is also changed. The choice of the model is interesting, since the original sticheron mentions also St Olga and Ss Boris and Gleb.

TABLE 19: CONTINUATION OF THE MODEL TEXT

Doxastikon for St Vladimir, Mode 8⁵⁵	
съ праматерию своєю Еленою.	with his grandmother Olga
Вся бо люди своя научи вѣровати,	all his people he taught to believe
и покланяться въ Троици Единому Богу, а идолы упразднѣвъ попра,	and to bow down to God, One in Trinity, he trampled idols and destroyed them
и израсти нам свои честнѣи лѣторасли, Романа и Давыда.	and grew for us his righteous shoots, Roman and David.

The compiled sticheron itself is devoted only to St Vladimir but through its reference to the model text, it paves way the next sticheron which is devoted to Ss Vladimir and Olga.

The second sticheron is based on the model of the second sticheron in the cycle of 'Lord, I have cried' on Cheesefare Saturday. The same source is used for three 'other' stichera. There are not many changes: specific phrases have been replaced with references to Russian saints, and the mode has also changed.

53 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 560v.

54 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 560v.

55 Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 132v-133.

TABLE 20A: THE SECOND STICHERON AT THE LITY

Second Sticheron of 'Lord, I have cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 ⁵⁶	Second Sticheron Mode od 'Lord, I have cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 ⁵⁷	Second Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5 ⁵⁸
Χαῖρε Αἴγυπτε πιστή,	Радуися Егупте вернии.	Радуися, царство Руское вѣрное,
		преже бѣ невѣрно, паче же нынѣ вѣрою утвердиися.
χαῖρε Λιβύη όσία,	Радуйся Ливие преподобная.	Радуися, царю Василие пребогатыи,
χαῖρε Θηβαῖς έκλεκτή,	Радуйся Фиваидо избавная.	радуися, Олга избранная:
		вы бо есте прежни ко Владыцѣ всехъ наши ходатаи, и начальницы православию,
		и наставници ко истиннѣи сущеи вѣрѣ.
χαῖρε πᾶς τόπος, καὶ πόλις καὶ χώρα,	Радуися всякое мѣсто и страна и градъ,	Радуися, всяко мѣсто, и страна, и градъ,
ἢ τοὺς πολίτας θρέψασα, τῆς Βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν,	иже граждѣнъ въспитавыи Царства Небеснаго,	иже граждѣны воспитавыи Небеснаго Царства,
καὶ τούτους ἐν ἐγκρατεία, καὶ πόνοις αὐξήσασα,	и сихъ въздержании и болѣзней възрастивше,	и сихъ в въздержании болѣзни возрастивши,
καὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, τελείους ἀνδρας τῷ Θεῷ, ἀναδείξασα,	и желании свершены мужа Богу показавши.	свершены мужа Господу показавшу.
οὗτοι, φωστῆρες τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ἀνεφάνησαν,	Си свѣтила душевная явишася:	Сии свѣтила душам нашим явишася,
οἱ αὐτοὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τῆ αἴγλη, καὶ τῶν ἔργων τοῖς τέρασιν, ἐξέλαμψαν νοητῶς,	ти же чудесь зарею, и дѣлеси и знаменми,	тѣмже чудес зарею, и дѣлеси, и знаменми
εἰς τὰ πέρατα ἅπαντα. Αὐτοῖς	просияше мыслено въ вся конца	просияша мыслено во вся конца
βοήσωμεν. Πατέρες παμμακάριστοι, πρεσβεύσατε, τοῦ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς.	тѣмъ взопиемъ: отци всеблаженнии, моли спастися намъ.	нынѣ Христу, вси святии отци, молитесь спасти душа наша.

TABLE 20B: THE SECOND STICHERON AT THE LITY (TRANSLATION)

Second Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8	Second Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5
Rejoice, faithful Egypt,	Rejoice, faithful Russian realm
	which once was unfaithful and now is fortified by faith.
Rejoice, venerable Libya,	Rejoice, sovereign Basil,
	of great wealth,

56 Quoted from the internet source <http://glt.xyz/texts/Tri/t27.uni.htm>.

57 Quoted from the Triodion of the 16th century RSL, F 304, no. 392, f. 49v.

58 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 561v-562.

Rejoice, chosen Thebaid.	Rejoice, chosen Olga:
	for you are our first intercessors to the Lord, initiators of Orthodoxy, and patrons of the true faith.
Rejoice, every place and country and city	Rejoice every place and country and city
which have nourished citizens of the Heavenly Kingdom,	which have nourished citizens of the Heavenly Kingdom
raising them in abstinence and pains,	raising them in abstinence and pains,
showing them to God as perfect men in desire.	showing them to the Lord as perfect men,
They have become spiritual luminaries	They have become luminaries to our souls
and by the light of their wonders, and their deeds, and signs	and by the light of their wonders, and their deeds, and signs,
they have shone spiritually to all the ends [of the earth].	they have shone spiritually to all the ends [of the earth].
For this we cry out: all-blessed fathers, pray for our souls!	all holy fathers, pray now to Christ to save our souls.

The choice of the model creates a parallel with the beginning of the Christianization of the world, since the model text speaks of Egypt, where Christianity spread in the middle of the first century. The Christianization of Rus is presented as parallel to this, and the events of 988 as bringing new life to the land. St Vladimir, who converted Rus, and St Olga, his grandmother, who herself converted, became the most important figures in the religious history of Russia.

The third sticheron is devoted to Ss Boris and Gleb, and we see a direct borrowing from the 'other' cycle of stichera of 'Lord, I have cried' for the service to Ss Boris and Gleb on 24 July, of which there is only one known version. This time not even the mode is changed. Grigoriy already used incipit of this sticheron for his troparion, and now he borrows it directly.

TABLE 21: THE THIRD STICHERON AT THE LITY

First 'Other' Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried' to Ss Boris and Gleb, Mode 1 ⁵⁹		Third Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5 ⁶⁰	
Пречестная верста и богомъ възлюблена	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,	Пречестная верста възлюблена,	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,
мученика пресловущая Бориск и Глѣбе	great martyrs Boris and Gleb,	мученицы пресловущаа, Борисъ и Глѣбъ,	great martyrs Boris and Gleb,
теплая заступника Русей земли	tender intercessors for the Russian land,	теплая заступника Руския земля	tender intercessors for the Russian land,
Всѣм странам утверждение,	foundation for all lands,	и всѣм странам утверждение,	foundation for all lands,
Христу молятеся даровати душам нашим мир и велию милость	pray to Christ to grant to our souls peace and a great mercy.	Христу молитесь даровати душамъ нашим велию милость.	pray to Christ to grant our souls great mercy.

59 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion LMAB, F 19, no. 170, f. 197.

60 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 562.

The sticheron devoted to Ss Boris and Gleb is compositionally important, since they were not only the children of St Vladimir but also the first canonized Russian saints. Thus, these three stichera reflect the beginning of Christianity in Russia.

The next three stichera (fifth, sixth and seventh) are devoted to all Russian saints. They are borrowed from the service on Cheesefare Saturday where they constitute the first and the third stichera and the doxastikon of 'Lord, I have cried'. The only serious change is again the mode. In addition, the first sticheron mentions two Russian saints (St Anthony and St Euthymius). The hymnographer uses the original text by preserving the first name intact, changing only the epithet from St Anthony the Great into St Anthony of the Kievan Caves. The second name keeps changing in different manuscripts (it can be St Theodosius or St Dionysios). The other stichera have been borrowed without any changes.

TABLE 22A: THE FOURTH STICHERON AT THE LITY

First Sticheron of 'Lord, I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 ⁶¹	First Sticheron of 'Lord, I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 ⁶²	Forth Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5 ⁶³
Δεύτε ἀπαντες πιστοί, τὰς τῶν οσίων Πατέρων,	Приидите вси вернии, преподобных отец лики воспоем,	Приидѣте, вси вѣрнии, преподобных отыць лик воспоем:
χορείας υμνήσωμεν, Αντώνιον τόν Κορυφαίον, τόν φαεινόν Ευθύμιον,	Антониа верховнаго, светлаго Евфимиа,	Антониа врьховнаго Печерская, свѣтлаго Дионисиа,
καί ἕκαστον, καί πάντα ομού,	и кождо и вся вкупе.	купно же кождо их всѣх.
καί τούτων ὡσπερ Παράδεισον,	И сих, якоже другий рай сладости,	И сих, якоже другия пища,
ἄλλον τρυφῆς, τὰς πολιτείας νοητῶς διεξερχόμενοι, τερπνῶς ανακράζωμεν.	гражданства мысленно преходяще, красно воззовем:	житие мыслено преходяще, красно возопиим:
Ταῦτα τὰ ξύλα, ἃ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Θεός ημῶν,	сия дресеса яже насади Бог наш:	сия дресеса яже насади Богъ нашъ:
τά αὐτά, τοὺς ἀφθάρτους καρπούς τῆς ζωῆς ἐξανθήσαντα,	сия плоды нетленныя жизни процветшая,	таже яже плоды нетлѣныя жизни процвѣтше,
προσήγαγον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐκτρέφοντα ημῶν τὰς ψυχάς,	принесоша Христу, питающе наша души,	и принесоша Христу, питающе наша душа
πρὸς οὓς βοήσωμεν,	к нимже возопиим:	к нимже возопиим:
θεοφόροι μακάριοι,	богоноснии блаженнии,	Богоносни отци преблагени,
πρεσβεύσατε, τοῦ σωθῆναι ημάς.	молите спастися нам.	ко Христу молитесь спастися душам нашим.

61 Quoted from the Internet source <http://glt.xyz/texts/Tri/t27.uni.htm>.

62 Quoted from the 16th-century Triodion RSL, F 304, no. 392, f. 49v.

63 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 562–562v.

TABLE 22B: THE FIFTH STICHERON AT THE LITY (TRANSLATION)

First Sticheron of 'Lord, I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8	Fifth Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5
Come, all ye faithful,	Come, all ye faithful,
Let us praise with songs the choirs of holy fathers:	Let us praise with songs the choir of holy fathers:
the great Anthony, the bright Euthymius,	Anthony, the superior of Pechery, and the bright Dionysios,
each of them and everyone together,	everyone together and each of them,
and passing spiritually through their lives as through a paradise of sweetness,	and passing spiritually through their lives as through other nourishment,
we cry with joy:	we cry with joy:
these are the trees which our God has planted:	these are the trees which our God has planted,
these are the ripened fruits of eternal life,	and these are the ripened fruits of eternal life,
offered to Christ, nourishing our souls.	offered to Christ, nourishing our souls.
O blessed, God-bearing fathers, pray that we may be saved.	O most blessed God-bearing fathers, pray to Christ to save our souls!

TABLE 23A: THE FIFTH STICHERON AT THE LITY

Third Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 ⁶⁴	Third Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 ⁶⁵	Fifth Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5 ⁶⁶
Τίς ἐξείποι γηγενῶν, τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὑμῶν βίου, Πατέρες παγκόσμιοι;	Кто изречеть от земнородныхъ чюдная ваша жития, отци всисвятии?	Кто изречет от земнородных чюдная ваша жития, преподобни отци?
ποία δὲ γλῶσσα λαλήσει, τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἐν Πνεύματι ἀγῶνας, καὶ ἰδρωτάς ὑμῶν,	Кии же языкъ изглаголить свящєныя о Дусъ подвигы и поты ваша?	Кии же язык изглаголетъ свящєныя о Дусъ подвигы и поты ваша,
τὰ ἄθλα τῶν ἀρετῶν, τὴν τήξιν τοῦ σώματος, τὰς παλαιότρας τῶν παθῶν,	Страдания добродѣтелемъ, изъмождения тѣла, борения страстемъ,	страдания, почести добродѣтелемъ, измождения тѣла, борения страстемъ
ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ εὐχαῖς, καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσιν,	во бдѣннихъ, и въ молитвахъ и слезахъ?	во бдѣнних, и молитвах, и слезахъ?
ὑμεῖς ἐν κόσμῳ, ὡσπερ Ἄγγελοι ὄντως ὠφθητε,	Вы в мирѣ воистинну явистєся яко ангели,	Вы в мирѣ воистину явистєся якоже ангели,
οἱ αὐτοί, τὰς δαιμόνων δυνάμεις, τελείως καθείλετε,	тиже бѣсомъ силу до конца погубисте,	тииже бѣсом силу до конца погубисте,
τελέσαντες θαυμαστά, καὶ ἐξαίσια τέρατα.	створивше чюдная и дивная знамєния.	сотворивше чюдная и дивная знамєния.
Διὸ πρєσβεύσατε, σὺν ἡμῖν παμμακάριστοι,	Тѣмже молитєся с нами прєблажєни,	Тѣмже молитєся, прєблажєнии, о нас ко Господу,
τυχεῖν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀλήκτου χαρᾶς	улучити намъ неизглаголанную радость	улучити нам неизглаголаную радость и велию милость.

64 Quoted from the Internet source <http://glt.xyz/texts/Tri/t27.uni.htm>.

65 Quoted from the 16th-century Triodion RSL, F 304, no. 392, f. 49v.

66 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 562v.

TABLE 23B: THE SIXTH STICHERON AT THE LITY (TRANSLATION)

Third Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8	Sixth Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5
Who among men can speak of the perfection of your lives, holy fathers?	Who among the earth-born can describe your miraculous lives, venerable fathers?
What tongue can describe your ascetism and efforts, sanctified by the Spirit?	What tongue can utter the sanctity of your efforts?
The suffering in virtue, the straining of the flesh, the struggles with passions,	The suffering in virtue, the control of the flesh, the struggles with passions,
in vigils, in prayers and in tears?	in vigils, in prayers and in tears?
Truly, you were angels while in the world.	Truly you were angels while in the world.
You conquered completely the powers of evil, performing miraculous and wonderful signs.	You destroyed entirely the power of evil. You performed miraculous and wonderful signs.
Therefore, pray with us, most blessed fathers, that we may reach endless joy!	Therefore, pray with us, most blessed fathers, to gain for our souls eternal joy!

TABLE 24A: DOXASTIKON

Doxastichon of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 6 ⁶⁷	Doxastikon of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 6 ⁶⁸	Doxastikon for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 6 ⁶⁹
Τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα, τηρήσαντες ἀλώβητον,	Иже по образу съблюдне невредима,	Иже по образу соблюдне невредимо,
νοῦν ἡγεμόνα, κατὰ παθῶν ὀλεθρίων,	ума владыку на страсти губителя постъническый протививъшеся,	ума владыку на страсти губителя постнически протививъшеся,
ἀσκητικῶς ἐνστησάμενοι, εἰς τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ὡς δυνατὸν ἀνεληλύθατε· ἀνδρικῶς γάρ τὴν φύσιν ἐκβιασάμενοι,	въ еже по подобию яко силнии приидосте:	во еже по подобию, яко силнии, приидосте.
ἐσπεύσατε τὸ χεῖρον	мужьскы бо естество понудивше,	мужески естество понудивше,
καθυποτάξαι τῷ κρείττονι,	потщастеса хужшее покорити болшеому,	потщашася хужшее покорити болшему
καὶ τὴν σάρκα δουλώσαι τῷ Πνεύματι·	и плоть поработити Духу.	и плоть поработивши Духу.
ὅθεν μοναζόντων, ἀνεδείχθητε ἀκρότης,	Тъмже инокующимъ явльшеса верхъ,	Тъмже инокующим явльшися верхъ,
πολισταὶ τῆς ἐρήμου,	граждане пустыньнии,	граждане пустыннии,
εὐδρομούντων ἀλειπται, κανόνες ἀρετῆς ἀκριβέστατοι.	благотикущимъ помазателя, правило добродѣтели извъстно.	благотекушим помазателя, правило добродѣтели извъстно.
Καὶ νῦν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, τῶν ἐσώπτρων λυθέντων Πανόσιοι, καθαρῶς ἐποπτεύετε,	И нынѣ на небесехъ, зеркаломъ раздрѣшивъшеся богомудрии,	И нынѣ на Небесѣхъ, зеркаломъ разрѣшившимся, богомудрии,

67 Quoted from the Internet source <http://glt.xyz/texts/Tri/t27.uni.htm>.

68 Quoted from the 17th-century Triodion RSL, F 304, no. 392, f. 50.

69 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 562v–563.

τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα, ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀμέσως,	чисто зрите Святую Троицу, молящся вкупѣ,	чисто видяще Святую Троицу, молящся вкупѣ
ὑπὲρ τῶν πίστει καὶ πόθῳ τιμώντων ὑμᾶς	о вѣроу и любвию чтущимъ васъ.	о иже вѣроу и любвию чтущихъ вас.

TABLE 24B: DOXASTIKON (TRANSLATION)

Doxastikon of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheese-fare Saturday, Mode 6	Doxastikon for All Saints at the Lily, Mode 6
You preserved the image [of God] undefiled,	You preserved the image [of God] undefiled,
by fasting, you set your master mind against the destructive passions,	by fasting, you set your master mind against the destructive passions,
You attained the greatest possible likeness [of God],	You attained the greatest possible likeness [of God],
manfully forcing your nature	manfully forcing your nature
and striving to submit the worse to the better,	and striving to submit the worse to the better,
and the flesh to serve the Spirit.	and the flesh to serve the Spirit.
Therefore, you were shown as leaders of monks,	Therefore, you were shown as leaders of monks,
dwellers of the desert,	dwellers of the desert, the refuge of those who sought God,
aid for those who walk on the good path, the renowned rule for virtue.	aid for those who walk on the good path, the renowned rule for virtue.
And now in the heavens, o you, wise in God, no longer on a mirror,	And now in the heavens, o you, wise in God, no longer on a mirror,
but clearly you behold The Holy Trinity, praying together	but clearly you behold The Holy Trinity, praying together
for those who venerate you in faith and love.	for those who venerate you in faith and love.

In this case, we can talk about a perfect choice of model: the stichera are known since they are taken from the Triodion. This is rather rare in practice. Because they address no specific people, the model stichera may also be borrowed directly without any changes. The only personalized reference in the first sticheron (mentioning St Anthony the Great and St Euthymius) has been changed minimally, since St Anthony the Great corresponds to St Anthony of the Kievan Caves, and St Euthymius to Ss Theodosius and Dionysios. In the first case, they even have the same name. Some novelty is introduced by changing modes in the first and the second stichera, leaving the third unchanged. Another important fact is that all the stichera were borrowed directly in Church Slavonic, without consulting a Greek original (as evidenced by the identical textual forms).

3.3 STICHERA OF THE APOSTICHA

The stichera of the Aposticha are unpersonalized, and they are composed of known topoi naming different ranks of saints. The first one is devoted to all Russian martyrs.

TABLE 25: THE FIRST STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

First Sticheron of the Aposticha for All Saints, Mode 2 ⁷⁰	
Свѣтила руская, мученици прехвалнии,	Russian illuminators, most praised martyrs,
святители и просвѣтителѣ въре и утверждение,	holy fathers and enlighteners of faith and foundations,
преподобни гражане пустынный,	venerable dwellers of the desert,
и наставници благочестию,	and mentors of piety,
ѣхже, сошедшеся, согласно ублажим:	them, having come together, we praise:
преподобнии и праведнии и вси святѣи,	the venerable and the righteous and all the saints,
молиѣ Христа Бога	pray to Christ God
даровати нам велию милость.	to grant us great mercy.

The sticheron does not provide any names and it is created from the most common topoi. However, in the middle, we see a parallel with a previous sticheron:

TABLE 26: EXCERPT FROM THE FIRST STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Doxastikon for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 6		First Sticheron of the Aposticha for All Saints, Mode 2	
гражане пустынный,	Dwellers of the desert,	преподобни гражане пустынный,	Venerable dwellers of the desert,
благотекушим помазателя, правило добродѣтели извѣстно	aid for those who walk on the good path, the renowned rule for virtue.	и наставници благочестию	and mentors of piety,

This reference makes the connection not only with the previous hymn but also with the model hymn, which creates a connection with the Triodion and the beginning of Christian history.

The second sticheron is created on the same principle. It is interesting that the incipit of the sticheron is taken from the Triodion, where it is the first troparion of the canon of the ode 1, mode 8 of Meatfare Saturday, in a similar way to the stichera of the Lity which were taken from the Cheesefare service:

TABLE 27: EXCERPT FROM THE CANON OF MEATFARE SATURDAY

Вси помолимся Христу,	Let us all pray to Christ,
творяще память душамъ от вѣка умршимъ,	commemorating the dead from the beginning of the ages,
да вѣчнаго огня избавить вѣрою усопшая,	that He save from eternal fire those who died in faith
о уповании жизни вѣчныя ⁷¹ .	and in the hope of the eternal life.

70 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 563.

71 Quoted from the edition (Maya A. Momina, Nikolaos Trunte, *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.–14. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 179.

In the sticheron, this incipit leads to the joyful praising of all saints of Russia, starting with St Vladimir:

TABLE 28: THE SECOND STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Second Sticheron of the Aposticha for All Saints, Mode 2 ⁷²	
Вси помолимся Христу,	Let us all pray to Christ,
иже творяще память днесь	Who makes this day the commemoration
отцу нашему Владимиру,	of our father Vladimir,
началника просвѣщения Руския земли нашея.	the beginner of enlightenment of our Russian land.
И с ним вкупѣ воспоим согласно	And with him we praise together
Божественя отца наша,	our divine fathers
иже постом просиявшая.	who shone by fasting.
К нимже взовем, глаголюще:	We will cry to them, saying:
отци всисвятии,	O most holy fathers,
молитесь о нас ко Господу,	pray for us to the Lord,
даровати нам велию милость.	to grant us great mercy.

The third sticheron is created from two famous *topoi*, used very often in Russian services. Here, it is followed by the phrase ‘иже израсти нам плод древа райскаго’ (‘which grew for us the fruit of the paradise tree’). This resembles the very well-known phrase of the doxastikon for St Vladimir, ‘и израсти нам свои честнѣи лѣторасли, Бориса и Глѣба’ (‘he grew for us his righteous shoots, Boris and Gleb’), but instead of mentioning Boris and Gleb, the sticheron continues by mentioning two female saints, St Euphrosyne of Suzdal and St Febronia of Murom.

TABLE 29: THE THIRD STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Third Sticheron of the Aposticha for All Saints, Mode 2 ⁷³	
Вси пѣсми духовными возопием:	Let us proclaim with spiritual songs:
красуися и веселися, граде Суждале,	rejoice and be joyful, o city of Suzdal,
иже израсти нам плод древа райскаго,	which grew for us the fruit of the tree of paradise,
Еофросинию благовѣрную, инокиня наставницу тверду.	the faithful Euphrosyne, the firm leader of those who fast,
Сиеюже купно блажим и Февронию преподобную,	together with her we praise the venerable Febro- nia,
Муромскую свѣтилницу пресвѣтлую.	the radiant luminary of Murom.
Богоноснии блаженнии матери,	O God-bearing blessed mothers,
молитесь ко Господу,	pray to the Lord
даровати нам велью милость.	to grant us great mercy.

This is the first time female saints are mentioned in the service. These two saints were probably chosen because of the fact that the *vita* of St Euphrosyne was written by Grigoriy himself, and St Febronia was the only woman canonized in 1547. Although

72 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 563.

73 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 563v.

St Euphrosyne was not officially canonized in the Macarius's councils, she had been venerated since 1517, and in the Menologion of 1548 (SHM, Sinodalnoe 336) she is mentioned as a saint:

В той же день преподобных матери наша Ефросинии, иже бывшей великой княжне черниговской. Положена же бысть в граде Суздале в дивичье монастыре, иже бысть ею создан, исцеление же бывает от гроба ея и до сего дни приходящим с верою.

On the same day, [we commemorate] our venerable mother St Euphrosyne, who was the Grand Princess of Chernigov. She was buried in Suzdal in the female monastery which she had founded, and healings take place at her tomb even today for those who come in faith.⁷⁴

In parallel, the doxastikon presents a list of some male saints, with the two females. The composition follows the same principle as before, using a known incipit which is followed by the list of saints.

TABLE 30: THE DOXASTIKON

Doxastikon, Mode 6 ⁷⁵	
Отеческий состав, празднoлюбци,	Come, lovers of the feast,
приидите, пѣсми восхвалим:	let us praise with songs the fatherly company:
святителя Петра, митрополита Алексѣя,	holy father Peter, metropolitan Alexios,
Леонтия, Игнатия, Иоанна, Феодора,	Leontius, Ignatius, John, Theodore,
С ними же купно Сергия, Варлаама блажим,	Together with them we praise Sergius and Barlaam,
Еуфимия, Кирилла,	Euthymius, Cyril,
Димитрия, Авраамия, Пафнотия, Макария,	Demetrius, Abraham, Paphnutius, Macarius,
иже Христа ради уродивых Максима, Исидора, Николу,	the holy fools Maxim, Isidore, Nicholas,
вкупе о Господу Евфросинию, Февронию,	together with Euphrosyne and Febronia,
иже в постѣ просиявшая.	who became radiant with fasting.
Все святии праведнии,	All righteous saints,
молитесь о нас ко Господу,	pray for us to the Lord,
спасти и просвѣтити души наша.	to save and enlighten our souls.

The doxastikon and the troparion are the last hymns of great vespers, so this sticheron combines the memory of saints and holy fools. It is noticeable that here Grigoriy no longer mentions the holy princes Vladimir and Boris and Gleb; the only royal saints are Ss Euphrosyne and Febronia, and both of them received tonsure. Here the idea of the "Holy Rus" is supported not by numerous holy princes, but holy venerable fathers and royal nuns emphasizing the idea that the land that has produced so many saints is itself holy.

74 Quoted from the Menologion SHM, Sinodalnoe 336. F. 106v. See more in Б. М. Клосс, А. В. Маштафаров, "Евфросиния," in *Православная энциклопедия*. V. XVII (Moscow: Церковно-научный центр «Православная энциклопедия», 2008), 517-521.

75 Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 563v.

4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we can say that an analysis of even two cycles of vespers shows a very typical way in which new services were created in the 16th century. Several model texts are borrowed or edited. The main model of the service is borrowed from Cheesefare Saturday, yet there are also loans from several other services, mainly dedicated to Russian saints.

Grigoriy uses different types models and different types of borrowing. When there is a direct borrowing, Grigoriy may change the mode to produce a new melody to an old hymn. He often uses the same model for more than one hymn, passing from direct borrowing to using a similar structure or using an incipit. He tries to make model hymns recognizable, yet to show with some changes that they are new creations. Looking for models, he also uses the Triodion, using texts that have already been translated into Church Slavonic. Sometimes he creates completely new hymns, using the most common topoi. In the cycles of stichera Grigoriy often uses a composition in which the first and the second stichera are devoted to one or two saints and the third is devoted to several. Even when using different model texts for the cycle, Grigoriy changes, if possible, the incipit in order to create an anaphorical beginning.

The analysis of the hymnographical models and borrowings seems to me important, since it provides several references and parallels both to the history of the Christianization of Russia and the history of Christianity in general. The service was changed and redacted over the course of many years, and the first version is no longer used. However, it is important to analyse the first version, which combines many methods used by hymnographers in the 16th century. Many direct and reworked borrowings, with all the references and parallels, form the composition of the service, showing Rus as truly a "holy land". We can see that, as a result, the service comes out not as an accumulated mass of different hymns but as a creation with its own logic and structure.

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ABBREVIATIONS

LMAB – Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka

RSL – Russian State Library

RNL – Russian National Library

SHM – State Historical Museum

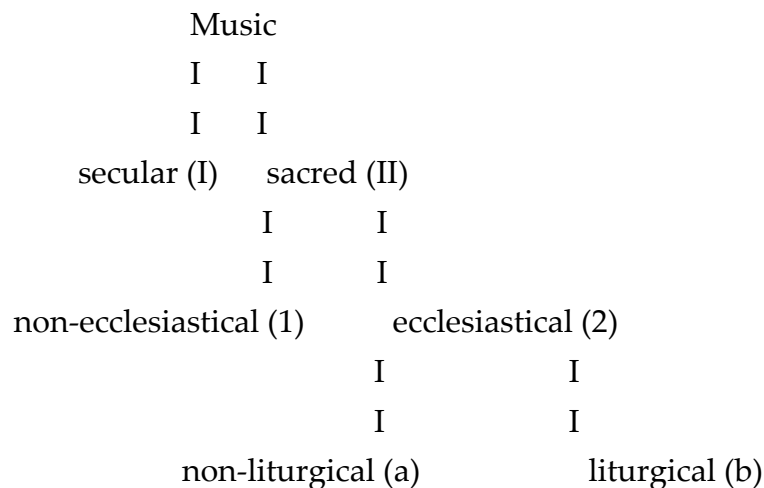


LITURGICAL MUSIC AS A DYNAMIC SYSTEM

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In defining “liturgical music”, one needs to place it in a wider system “Music”. Using a method of oppositions (*dichotomia*), we can divide music into secular (I) and sacred (II), the latter into non-ecclesiastical (1) and ecclesiastical (2), and further, into non-liturgical (a) and liturgical (b):



In this scheme, “liturgical music” has its precise co-ordinates in the system: II-2-b. Thus, the system has three sub-systems of three structural levels: high (I-II), middle (1-2) and low (a-b) with their own differential criteria. Let us consider these.

As for the high level (I-II), the question of what the differences between secular and sacred music are is too wide to be considered in this brief article.

As regards the middle level (1-2), sacred non-ecclesiastical music is connected with a mythology (which is in the past), while the sacred ecclesiastical music is connected with a religion (which, being in the present, is directed to the future). Thus, our opposition 1-2 can be further detailed:

- | |
|--|
| 1 non-ecclesiastical music – mythology (past) |
| sacred (II) { |
| 2 ecclesiastical music – religion (present → future) |

My work *Баллады ночи* (2011–2016, ca 17' 50) can be considered as sacred non-ecclesiastical music (II-1). These five ballades, composed for soprano solo, alto solo, four-voice SSAA female ensemble/choir and piano accompaniment, comprise:

- 1 *Русалка* (Mikhail Lermontov, 1814-1841)
- 2 *Старый сад* (Rita Ocheretnaya, 1969-2008)
- 3 *Девушка пела в церковном хоре...* (Alexander Blok, 1880-1921)
- 4 *В Склепе* (Valery Brusov, 1873-1924)
- 5 *Горные вершины...* (Mikhail Lermontov)

All the ballades of “night” (here “night” is a metaphor for “death”) are connected with one or another aspect of death – an extreme point of the intersection of both immanent life (i.e. life *before* death) and transcendental life (i.e. life *after* death):

Immanent life (before) → Death → (after) Transcendental life

In first movement, a dead soldier (“витязь”) lies at the bottom of a river, and only Rusalka (a figure from Slavic pre-Christian mythology) knows about him; in the third movement, many dead soldiers lie on the seabed (the poem was written as a reflection on the events of Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905); in the second movement, a girl is thinking about her inevitable death; in the fourth, she is lying in a crypt. Thus, there are two lines in the work: male (first and third movements, *thesis*) and female (second and fourth movements, *antithesis*). The fifth movement is a *synthesis*, which integrates both lines by means of a totally pessimistic resume:

Подожди немного,
Отдохнешь и ты.

Symbolically, I was working on the concluding fifth movement (September 2016) when I learnt of the death of the composer Vladimir Nikolayevich Sokolov (1931-2016). He was my teacher of composition at the Seminars for Amateur Composers at the St Petersburg Department of the Union of Composers of the Russian Federation, where I was studying from 1989 till my entrance into the Odessa State Academy of Music “A. V. Nezhdanova” in 1992. I naturally dedicated the ballade *Горные вершины...* to his memory.

All five poems have a transcendental character. All of them are well-known texts except one – the unpublished poem *Старый сад* by Rita (Margarita) Ocheretnaya:

В заброшенном старом саду
Деревья давно отцвели,
А грубые ветви и сучья
Отвыкли от тяжести птиц.

А там, глубоко под землей,
Деревья корнями сплелись
В еще один сад: из камней и костей –
Подземный пугающий мир!

Мне страшно бродить здесь одной,
Но будет гораздо страшней
В подземном и мрачном саду...
Но я из него прорасту:

Я вырвусь зеленой травой
 В забытый заброшенный сад
 И каждой травинкой я буду любить этот мир...
 И кто-то полюбит меня!

I employed two musical metaphors for the transcendental character of the work: a metaphor for the eternity of transcendental life, and a metaphor for the transcendental “light” from the other world.

Regarding the first metaphor, as any cyclic endless process can be considered a symbol of eternity, I used some intervallic circles of the tonalities for the modulatory movement of the voices – as a musical metaphor for the eternity – in all five ballades:

1. 3-semitone unclosed circle: A – C – E flat... (- F sharp -A) – minor,
2. 8-semitone closed circle: G sharp – E – C – G sharp – minor,
3. 8-semitone closed circle: D – B flat – F sharp – D – minor,
4. 8-semitone unclosed circle: F – C sharp – A... (- F) – minor,
5. 4-semitone closed circle: G – B – E flat – G - minor.

Remarkably, twelve minor tonalities were used for the work, as well as the symmetrical octave mode of limited transpositions [3:1] (in semitones) for the fifth ballade.

As for the second metaphor, in the poem *В Склепе* (fourth movement) by the symbolist poet Valery Brusov, the moonlight becomes a symbol of the transcendental “light” from the other world, and I used another musical metaphor for this symbol.

Both the metaphors were further used in similar way in another, liturgical work of mine, *Lux aeterna* (2018), composed for eight-voice choir (SSAATTBB) with organ accompaniment.¹

As for the *Баллады ночи*, it should be noted that the third movement, *Девушка пела в церковном хоре...*, was separately premiered by the female vocal ensemble Putni (Antra Drege) on 23 August 2014 in Kuldīga (Latvia) at the Festival Via Baltica.

Since the Renaissance (in some countries even before), all kinds of art, including music, have been in a permanent process of secularization. For example, the *Messe de Tournai* (14th century) is the first complete six-movement setting of a Latin mass (Kyrie – Gloria – Credo – Sanctus – Agnus Dei – Ite missa). The concluding movement is composed as a multi-texted motet. As John Potter wrote,

...its secular origins can be seen in the three texts which are sung simultaneously in the response. The tenor line is used for the words ‘Go, the mass is over’, and this line is then repeated slowly as the basis for the polyphony to the words ‘Thanks be to God’. The two other texts sung at the same time have nothing to do with the service at all: the Latin text is political, and the French one a love song.²

It is rather good illustration of the above-mentioned question concerning the differences between secular and sacred music. Obviously, the concluding sixth movement of the *Messe de Tournai* is secular music, as it includes two secular texts (a political one and a love song); and it would become sacred if both texts were excluded. What a simple “method” to turn secular music into sacred one, and vice versa: only the text needs to change! And what about the specifically musical content of such a

1 For details, see my article “Oleh Harkavyi’s “Lux aeterna” (2018) in “light” of the Enlightenment”, JISOCM Vol. 4 (1), pp. 109-117, at <https://journal.fi/jisocm/issue/view/6462/750>.

2 John Potter, “La Messe de Tournai, Ivan Moody: Words of the Angel”, in: *Trio Mediaeval: Words of the Angel*, ECM New Series 1753 (ECM Records, 2001).

work? It is a subject of consideration for musical semiotics: as found in the works of Eero Tarasti, in particular, his *A Theory of Musical Semiotics*.³

Now, after centuries of this process of secularization, the contemporary composer is able to make use of any mythology or any religion, etc. As far as Christianity is concerned, a composer, in writing ecclesiastical music, can perceive Christianity as up-to-date religion, if he is himself included in its system, being an active member, or else as out-of-date mythology, if he is himself outside its system, being a passive observer. How do these two approaches reveal themselves in music?

It is only my hypothesis, which needs to be precisely tested. If a composer, creating a work of ecclesiastical music, uses up-to-date musical language, he places his work into a context of a religion (which is also up-to-date); if he uses out-of-date stylistic models (neo-mediaeval, neo-renaissance, etc.), he places thus his work in the context of a mythology (which is also out-of-date).

So, we have another opposition, which correlates with the level 1-2:

up-to-date musical language – religion (present → future)

composer {

out-of-date musical language – mythology (past)

Thus, if my hypothesis is right, this would become a rather helpful method.

Tsar Ivan The Terrible (1530-1584), Nikolai (Mykola) Diletsky (ca 1630-1680), Maxim Berezovsky (1745-1777), Dmitry Bortnyansky (1751-1825), Piotr Tchaikovsky (1840-1893), Alexander Archangelsky (1846-1924), Sergei Rachmaninov (1873-1943) and Pavel Tchesnokov (1877-1944) all created their ecclesiastical music using up-to-date musical languages, and thus placed their music in the context of religion rather than mythology – i.e. they perceived Russian Orthodoxy as an up-to-date, living religion, not as out-of-date “dead” mythology. The severe monodic *stichera* by Ivan The Terrible; Bortnyansky’s *Херувимская Песнь* (Hymn of the Cherubim) in D-Major, composed in Italian operatic style, a delicate four-voiced miniature with clear movement of the voices and classical harmony; Archangelsky’s sacred concerto *Помышляю день страшный*, composed in a style close to Tchaikovsky’s; the passionate works by Tchesnokov... what do these works have in common? They were composed in up-to-date musical style for their time.

What might one say about the current situation of music in the Russian Orthodox Church? I have no statistical data, but if most contemporary composers of the Russian Orthodox Church create their works in out-of-date styles, it could be considered as an index (a semiotic term) of an objective process of “conservation” of the religion (at least, by means of music) and then turning it from an up-to-date religion into out-of-date mythology, if my hypothesis is correct.

As for the lower level (a-b) of the scheme, liturgical music, having a dual nature, belongs both to Art (music) and Church (liturgics). This opposition can be considered as a dynamic system, in which both its components must be well balanced ($m=l$, where m – music, l – liturgy). If music is predominant over liturgy ($m>l$), music becomes more artistic and less liturgical; if liturgy is predominant over music ($l>m$), music becomes less artistic and more liturgical. In extreme cases, music becomes purely artistic, non-liturgical ($m>>l$), or music becomes purely liturgical, non-artistic ($l>>m$) – the system then appears thus:

(Church) liturgics ← liturgy + music → music (Art)

³ Eero Tarasti, *A Theory of Musical Semiotics*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

What are the criteria for a work of ecclesiastical music to become a liturgical one? There are two conditions for a work of liturgical music: 1) it must use a liturgical text; 2) it must have a *Боговдохновенный* (God-inspired) character.

As for the first condition, it can be also considered as a dynamic system, “music – text”, in which both its components must be well balanced ($m=t$, where m – music, t – text). If music is predominant over text ($m>t$), the work becomes more artistic and less liturgical; if text is predominant over music ($t>m$), the work becomes more liturgical and less artistic. In extreme cases, the work becomes purely artistic, non-liturgical ($m>>t$), or purely liturgical, non-artistic ($t>>m$).

So, the preceding scheme can be detailed by thinking about the opposition “music – text”:

(Church) liturgics	\leftarrow	liturgy + music	\rightarrow	music (Art)
$t>m$				$m>t$
$t>>m$				$m>>t$

How does it work? It is in fact a rather simple method, which I will illustrate using one of the genres of Gregorian chant.

1. Music and text are well balanced ($m=t$). This means that 1 syllable of text correlates with 1 note of music: $m = t$: 1 syllable \leftrightarrow 1 note

This syllabic principle is used for Sequences.

2. Text is predominant over music ($t>m$). This means that 2 and more syllables of text correlate with 1 repeated note of music: $t>m$: 2+ syllables \leftrightarrow 1 note

We find this principle in the Epistle tones.

3. Music is predominant over text ($m>t$). This means that 2 and more notes of music correlate with 1 syllable of text: $m>t$: 1 syllable \leftrightarrow 2+ notes

This principle is used for the Gradual.

4. An extreme case, when text is too predominant over music ($t>>m$). This means that much more syllables correlate with 1 repeated note: $t>>m$: more syllables \leftrightarrow 1 note

We find this principle in some Epistle tones, which have a purely liturgical, non-artistic character.

5. An extreme case, when music is too predominant over text ($m>>t$). This means that many more notes of music correlate with 1 syllable of text: $m>>t$: 1 syllable \leftrightarrow more notes

This decorative principle is used for the Jubilus; some of them have a very artistic and non-liturgical character, because the strict sense/content of the liturgical text is lost for a listener by such singing.

An extreme case of such predominance of music over text ($m>>t$) can be also found at the *Clausula* from the end of the 12th-beginning of the 13th centuries, which has no liturgical, but merely a decorative or colourful character. For example, the four-voice *clausula Mors* by Perotin (?) numbers 75 bars in contemporary notation in the metre of 6/4 (in the transcription by H. Husmann, 1955), and only one syllable, “mors”, was used in the work.⁴

4 Юлия Евдокимова, *История полифонии, том 1: Многоголосие средневековья 10-14 века* [History of Polyphony, Volume 1: Medieval Polyphony of 10-14th centuries], Москва: Музыка, 1983

As for the second condition for a work of ecclesiastical music to become liturgical, as liturgical music belongs both to Art (music) and Church (liturgics), strictly speaking, it needs also to belong to both systems. It is necessary to be a musician (a composer, a performer) and a priest (archpriest, bishop, archbishop) at the same time, to decide on the problems connected with the liturgical music. I am a composer, but not a specialist in liturgics. That is why, as for the God-inspired character of a musical work, when I ask these questions, I am not able myself to answer them; they are outside my competence.

Is there an objective method for this definition (of God-inspired character of a musical work), or is it somebody's personal view, or a subject for some speculation? The story of Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* is interesting in this context. Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953) wrote in his autobiography, describing the cultural events of the Autumn of 1905 in St Petersburg:

Тетя Таня рассказала мне, что есть обедня, сочиненная Чайковским, очень интересная и совсем не похожая на церковные песнопения, а когда слушаешь, то 'точно все поют из оперных арий', за что ее и запретили исполнять в церквах. Только раз в год, осенью, в день смерти Чайковского, эта обедня исполняется в одной из церквей Александро-Невской лавры.⁵

Aunt Tanya told me that there is a Liturgy, composed by Tchaikovsky, very interesting, but quite unlike church singing: when you are listening to it, it seems, that 'all are singing from operatic arias', that is why it was not allowed to be performed in churches. Only once a year, in the autumn, on the day of Tchaikovsky's death, is this Liturgy performed at one of the churches of the Alexander Nevsky Laura.

On the one hand, then, it was forbidden – by official clerical circles – to be performed in churches, but on the other hand, it was performed – only once a year – at the Alexander Nevsky Laura.

What is the method (for the definition of the God-inspired character of a musical work) in the case when a composer creates liturgical music of some Christian confessions, such as Bach's *St John Passion*, *St Matthew Passion*, which represent a genre of the Lutheran Church, or the *B Minor Mass*, a genre of the Catholic Church? Probably Lutheran theologians will declare that Bach's Passions are works of God-inspired character, while his *B Minor Mass* is not a work of such character. At the same time, Catholic theologians will probably defend the opposite: that the *B Minor Mass* has a God-inspired character, but his Passions have not. Comparing the works, however, one can conclude that they are identical in their style, being created by one and the same great composer.

What is the method when a composer creates music not only of some Christian confessions, but also non-Christian – such as Sir John Tavener (1944-2013)? Concerning his *Two Hadiths*, Rebecca Tavener wrote:

'Two Hadiths' was commissioned by Canty from Sir John Tavener to premiere in York Minster in 2008 for the launch of the 'Minster Quarter' initiative. Hadiths are sayings by the Prophet Mohammed that are extra to the Koran, and many of them are poetic, almost visionary observations about the nature of the Almighty.⁶

One might also make mention of his *A Buddhist miniature* (on a Buddhist text), *Magnificat and Nunc dimittis* (on an Anglican text), etc.

What is the method for defining the God-inspired character for works of a really ecumenical nature, which integrate the features of a music of some confessions (e.g., Orthodox and Catholic), such as the *Liturgy of Peace* by His Eminence Metropolitan

⁵ Sergei Prokofiev, *Автобиография*, 2nd edition (Москва: "Советский Композитор", 1982), 241.

⁶ Rebecca Tavener, "Carmina Celtica", in: Canty, *Carmina Celtica* (Linn Records, 2010).

Jonathan (Yeletskykh)? Mykola Hobdych, Artistic Director and Conductor of the “Kyiv” Chamber Choir, wrote:

In the *Liturgy of Peace*, the Greek Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom in the Church Slavonic language is ‘dressed’ by the author in the melodies of ancient Gregorian chorales with minimal adaptation of harmonic methods. That way, and through the thousand-year old alienation of Church culture the *Liturgy of Peace* creates a musical synthesis of both cultures, firstly, and also the meeting of western and eastern liturgical traditions.⁷

One might also mention his “Chernobyl” *Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*.⁸

The author of the article has written liturgical works of both the Catholic and Orthodox confessions, as well as a work of ecumenical character, the three-voice *Missa Mediaeval* (2002-2005, ca 42’), composed for S-S-MS *a cappella* especially for the Scandinavian Trio Mediaeval. The mass is composed in a neo-Gothic style to the canonical Latin text, using the *cantus firmus* technique. The first movement the Kyrie was premiered separately by them on 16 January 2004 in Oslo (Norway) and recorded on CD.⁹ Since 2013 it has also been available on YouTube.¹⁰

As for the metrical and rhythmic organization of the Kyrie, E. J. Johnson wrote in his review: “In fact, the opening Kyrie by Harkavyy, with its piquant dissonances and quaint syncopations, could pass unsuspected as medieval polyphony.”¹¹ In fact, there are no syncopations in the Kyrie! It uses the *metrical modes* – my system of unusual non-symmetrical metres, which consist of groups of two and three quavers in different combinations, being one of the features of my New Gothic style. For example, there are two metrical modes of the metre of 5/8: I (2+3) and II (3+2), as well as two metrical modes of the metre 6/8: I (2+2+2) and II (3+3). There are three metrical modes of the metre of 7/8: I (2+2+3), II (2+3+2) and III (3+2+2), and so on.

As for the Kyrie, it uses the first mode I (2+3) of the metre of 5/8 for the slow episodes, and all the three metrical modes of the metre of 8/8:

- I (3+3+2) for the first quick episode,
- II (3+2+3) for the second quick episode,
- III (2+3+3) for the third quick episode.

In addition, as for the two groups of 3 quavers in the metre of 8/8, the first uses the second *rhythmical mode*, while the second uses the first *rhythmical mode* (here in the sense of the rhythmical system of *Ars Antiqua*).

The five-voice *Missa Canonica* (2010-2015, ca 25’), composed for MS-A-A-A-A *a cappella* especially for the Belcanto ensemble (directed by Dietburg Spohr). The mass is composed in New Gothic style on the canonical Latin text, in quasi-sonata form. The three movements (Kyrie, Gloria, Agnus Dei) were premiered in 2014 and recorded.¹² The complete mass was premiered on 4 November 2017 in Frankfurt am Main (Germany).

The *Missa da Requiem* (2008-2018, ca 52’), composed in memory of my wife, the musicologist and poet Rita (Margarita) Dmitrievna Ocheretnaya (1969-2008), for soprano solo, eight-voice SSAATTBB choir, organ and string orchestra. The Requiem is composed in New Gothic style on the canonical Latin text.

7 Archbishop Ionafan (Yeletskikh), *Liturgy of Peace*, “Kyiv” Chamber Choir (Atlantic Records, 2005).

8 Archbishop Ionafan (Yeletskikh), *The “Chernobyl” Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, “Credo” Chamber Choir (Rostok Records, 2009).

9 Trio Mediaeval, *Soir, dit-elle*, ECM New Series 1869 (ECM Records, 2004).

10 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U9CvFvB4b2s>.

11 <http://www.barnesandnoble.com/w/soir-dit-elle-trio-mediaeval>.

12 Belcanto ensemble, “Vokalwerke von Oleh Harkavyy: Messe” (Fabio Cammarata Mediapartner, Project presentation). See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vgvzhz6Vpt8>.

The *Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* (2018-2019, ca 53'), composed for SATB choir *a cappella* in the tradition of Russian Orthodox Church music on the canonical Church Slavonic text. The Liturgy, which consists of twenty-five movements, is one large "sounding icon" and can be compared with the iconostasis of a Russian Orthodox Church, which consists (in the case of my Liturgy) of two rows with twelve icons in a row, with one central larger icon: number 13, "Верую" (The Creed).

After the death of my father, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Harkavyi (1940-2018), I composed in his memory *Свете тихий/Lux aeterna* (2018, ca 3' 20), scored for eight-voice SSAATTBB choir with organ accompaniment. The character of the music is ideally suitable for both the texts: "Lux aeterna" (Eternal light) from the Latin Requiem and "Свете тихий" (Gladsome light) from the Orthodox All-Night Vigil. The Latin text is not a precise translation of the Church Slavonic one, and vice versa. The texts are not identical, but they similar and concern the "light" from the other world. To ask whether this "light" is Catholic, Lutheran or Orthodox one would be absurd.

The four vocal lines (S-A-T-B) are permanently doubled in parallel thirds (S1-S2, A1-A2, T1-T2, B1-B2), which is why an eight-voice choir was used; this is, semiotically, an index of Russian Orthodox Church singing (*пение вторами*, i.e. singing in parallel intervals: thirds or sixths), which from the time of Peter the Great became typical (see *кант* and *псалм* of the period). This texture can be found in the above-mentioned works by Bortnyansky – the Cherubic Hymn (bars 44-47) – and Archangelsky - *Помышляю день страшный* (bars 7-9, 21-24, 29-32, 43-46, 61-63).

As for an organ accompaniment, it is not an index here of Catholic music. The character of the music is transcendental, connected with the "light" from the other world. For this effect, an extraordinary scale is used, in which it is impossible to sing without instrumental accompaniment. See for details the article mentioned in footnote 1 above.

If a composer is at the same time a priest, does it mean that his liturgical works are of God-inspired character? Has he received the Holy Spirit at his ordination only for service as a priest, or as a composer too for his liturgical music (which is a part of the service)?

If the liturgical works of a composer have a God-inspired character, does it mean that all the other works of the composer have a God-inspired character too, or only the liturgical music? For example, if Sergei Rachmaninov's *Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* (1910) and *All-Night Vigil* (1915) have a God-inspired character, does it mean that all the other his works, including, for example, the *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini* (1934), for piano solo and large symphony orchestra, also have such a character?

If a composer creates only secular works, does it mean that none of them has a God-inspired character?

Returning to our opposition "Art (music) – Church (liturgics)", it correlates to a certain degree with another opposition "Free Will – Predestination": the "artistic" component of liturgical music, which depends upon the composer, correlates with "Free Will", as well as the "liturgical" component of liturgical music, which does not depend upon the composer, correlates with "Predestination":

Art (music) \leftrightarrow Church (liturgics)

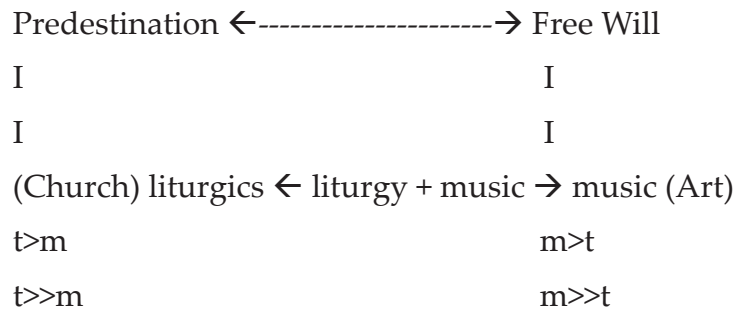
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Free Will \leftrightarrow Predestination

The second opposition “Free Will – Predestination” can be considered as the psychological basis for the first “Art (music) – Church (liturgics)”.

Thus, our initial scheme can be finally detailed:



As a sample of a sacred ecclesiastical liturgical work (II-2-b), my *Stabat Mater* (2008-2011, ca 28'), composed for soprano solo, eight-voice SSAATTBB choir with organ accompaniment, can be considered.¹³ This work was also composed in memory of my wife Rita.

It needs to be noted that it is usual compositional practice for me to use a literary text as *initial model* (of both its aspects – content and structure) not only for my vocal-instrumental works, where the text is included in the score as an integral part, but also for my purely instrumental works, where the text is not included in the score, being its subtext only: for example, *Sonata of Motets “Holy Trinity”* (2012, ca 16' 15), for organ solo and *Concerto of Motets “Jesus Christus”* (2017, ca 15' 45), for organ and string orchestra were both composed after my Latin-texted motets for vocal ensemble; and the *12 Choral Preludes* (2019, ca 26'), for organ, composed after the original Gregorian chants.

It is also usual compositional practice for me to use not only a literary text as a basis for my vocal-instrumental works, where the text is included into a score, but some initial models from other kinds of art too, which are not included in the score, being its subtext only; for example:

- painting: *Ave Maria* (2008), *Stabat Mater* (2008-2011), *Two Madrigals* (2011/2016),
- ballet: *Missa Mediaeval* (2002-2005),
- architecture: *Missa Canonica* (2010-2015),
- light: *Lux aeterna* (2018).

As for my *Stabat Mater*, in composing the work, I was inspired not only by the poem by Jacopone da Todi (1228-1306), but I was also looking through the reproductions of all the paintings of the Crucifixion which were accessible to me at the time – chronologically from Giotto di Bondone (1266/1267-1337) to Salvador Dali (1904-1989).

These had a great impact upon me not only on account their content (the different images of the Crucified Christ), but also their structural aspect. Thus, the structure of the Isenheim Altarpiece (1512-1515) by Matthias Gruenewald (ca 1470-1528) – with its closed and unclosed panels with quite opposite images of immanent life (the Crucifixion of Christ, in dark, pessimistic colouring) and transcendental life (the Resurrection of Christ, in shining, optimistic colouring) – was translated by me into a structure for my *Stabat Mater* in the following way.

¹³ The *Stabat Mater* was inserted into the Roman Missal and Breviary in 1727, and now it appears on the Feast of Our Lady's Sorrows, celebrated on 15 September.

It is a four-movement Sonata cycle:

1. “*Stabat Mater dolorosa...*” – Sonata form (ca 12’ 20),
2. “*Sancta Mater, istud agas...*” – Variations (ca 5’ 10),
3. “*Virgo Virginum praeclara...*” – quasi-Scherzo (ca 5’),
4. “*Amen. In sempiterna saecula.*” – Coda (ca 5’ 30),

with the opposition of the first three movements and fourth concluding movement. Movements 1-3, composed on da Todi’s text and scored for eight-voice SSAATTBB choir and organ, are the symbol of immanent life and correspond with the Crucifixion of Christ as depicted on the Isenheim Altarpiece. The concluding Coda uses, simultaneously in counterpoint, two opposite lines:

Firstly, with a new melody, composed after an original Gregorian chant and sung by soprano solo (on the word “Amen”) with an organ accompaniment – which is a symbol of transcendental life and corresponds with the Resurrection of Christ on the Isenheim Altarpiece (the soprano solo is used as a symbol of the Mother of God),

Secondly, the eight-voice SSAATTBB choir sings (*sotto voce*) simultaneously in counterpoint with the first line the material of the preceding three movements (on the words “In sempiterna saecula”). This line, being a symbol of immanent life in the first three movements, is now repositioned in the context of transcendental life.

As for the above-mentioned intersection of a literary text and music in my works, there is another unique experience in my compositional practice, when a literary text was further added by me to my primarily instrumental work: in 2014 I added a mezzo soprano part with the text “Requiem aeternam” to my *Memorial Study Number 2* (2008, ca 5’), composed primarily for piano. The *Study* was the first of my works to be composed in memory of my wife Rita, just after her untimely death.

Two musical metaphors were used by me for the transcendental character of the work: a metaphor for “Eternal light”, which is the two-hand figured chords in the high register of the piano, the dynamics being “ppp”, and a 7-bar melody, which is a symbol of a “living person” and consists of two sections, the first of three bars (symbolic of the “body”) and the second of four bars (symbolic of the “soul”). Both metaphors interact in the *Study*. When the “Eternal light” arises for the first time, it becomes visible for a dying person, but the seven-bar melody is heard once again – the reanimation of the person is possible still. When the “Eternal light” arises for the second time, reanimation is impossible – the person is dead, and the seven-bar melody is split into its two sections, the three-bar “body” descends into the ground (into the lowermost register of a piano), while the four-bar “soul” ascends to Heaven (into the high register of the piano). The text “Requiem aeternam” was added by me to the *Study* to make explicit the extra-musical content of the instrumental writing.

The *Memorial Study Number 2* (2008) was premiered by me on 24 March 2009 at the Chamber Hall of the Odessa Philharmonic Society at a memorial concert on the first anniversary of Rita’s death (she was working as a lecturer-musicologist at the Odessa Philharmonic Society from 1994 till 2008). It was performed a second time by me on 4 October 2009 at the Golden Hall of the Odessa Literary Museum at a literary concert of Rita’s works (both poetry and prose) within the framework of the Festival “Золотая Осень Мира” (“Golden Autumn of Peace”). The very popular *Ave Maria* by J. S. Bach/Ch. Gounod was composed in similar way. Gounod (1818-1893) added the vocal part, to the text ‘Ave, Maria’ to the C major Prelude from the *Wohltemperierte Klavier*, volume 1 by J. S. Bach (1685-1750).

The question about the extra-musical content of a purely instrumental work arises once again in this context. The Ukrainian musicologist Boleslav Yavorsky (1877-1942) considered the *Wohltemperierte Klavier* as a work of specifically sacred ecclesiastical character. In his interpretation, each of its Preludes and Fugues corresponds with one or another episode of the Holy Bible (mostly the New Testament), as well as the dogmatic cycle.¹⁴ Thus, the C major Prelude corresponds precisely with the Annunciation. It is remarkable that Gounod's and Yavorsky's interpretations of the Prelude coincide. Comparing the interpretations of the *Wohltemperierte Klavier* by great pianists such as Sviatoslav Richter and Glenn Gould, we can see that they are quite different. Yavorsky's interpretation of the WTK could become not a dogmatic "method", but rather a "key" for a better understanding of the work.

It needs to be noted that the light of a candle and the lampada near an icon is another symbol of the "light" from the other world, the eternity of the "light" (compare: "неугасимая лампада"). This invisible transcendental "light" lightens our immanent life, adding a higher sense to our everyday life. In this context, I would like to quote another unpublished poem *Свеча* by Rita (Margarita) Ocheretnaya:

Тихая церковь, скромная служба,
Свечи горят у икон...
Я удивляюсь: что мне здесь нужно?
Может, мне нужен Он?

Я удивляюсь собственным пальцам,
Трепетно взявшим свечу...
За огоньки, что дрожат в ритме вальса,
Я сполна заплачу!

Крест, возносящийся в тысячелетья
С несокрушимым Иисусом Христом...
Может, хочу я за что-то ответить?
Может, ищу я Дом –

В тихой церквушке, где скромная служба?
Косынка сползает с плеча...
Среди свечей, что "танцуют" недружно,
Горит и моя свеча!

I will end this article with these optimistic lines, which live after the death of their author. The flame of Rita's candle is really the eternal "light"!

14 Музыкальная Академия, Volume 2 (1993).



HISTORICAL PERFORMANCE NORMS AND RUSSIAN SACRED MUSIC: THE CASE OF RACHMANINOV'S ALL NIGHT VIGIL

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INTRODUCTION

It is not always obvious how performance norms become established. In the case of Russian sacred music, a tendency to local variations across the vasts of Russia was blunted by the conservatism of the Church, and later directly addressed by publication of books of chant and other liturgical music. Beyond that, choirs with national prominence, such as the Capella (previously the Tsar's choir) in St Petersburg, and the Moscow Synodal Choir (previously the Patriarch's choir), together with eminent conductors (e.g. Aleksandr Arkhangel'sky, Vasily Orlov, Alexandr Kastal'sky, Nikolai Danilin, Pavel Chesnokov), played a role. However, by far the most prominent factor in fixing performance norms was the advent of recordings during the twentieth century. The difficulty here is that throughout much of this time, the Soviet Union proscribed the composition and performance of Russian sacred music. Equally, Western choirs had little exposure to, or experience of, singing this musical genre, and were further limited by unfamiliarity with the Cyrillic alphabet and the Church Slavonic language, and a lack of *oktavists*. The result is that very few works in the Russian sacred music repertoire have yet become available in multiple recordings and amenable to performance analysis.

One exception is Rachmaninov's All-Night Vigil, arguably the most familiar work of Russian sacred music in the West and often known, incorrectly, as his Vespers. This was composed in 1915, just two years before the 1917 October Revolution. After the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, performances of the All-Night Vigil were no longer proscribed in former Soviet bloc countries, and Western choirs started to attempt recordings. This allowed Ivan Moody in 2016 to undertake a review of 27 different disc recordings.¹ However, since some of the relevant recordings in this review are no longer easily obtainable, and the advent of the Internet has made numerous other performances available, this comparative study focused on current recordings freely available online.

1 Ivan Moody, "Rachmaninov's All-Night Vigil," *Gramophone*, December (2016): 127

METHODS

YouTube offered the largest number of online performances of Rachmaninov's All-Night Vigil, with 34 distinct performances at time of this study.² Analysis involved the *Magnificat* (section 11), which encompasses substantial variation in dynamics, weight and colour. Singing of the text is led by the basses, with an intervening refrain exalting Mary.³ Recordings were divided arbitrarily into three groups.

1. Group 1: four recordings from the Soviet era (prior to 1991), with the first 'historical' recording, made by Sveshnikov in 1965⁴
2. Group 2: nine performances by Slavic choirs after 1991
3. Group 3: 21 performances by non-Slavic choirs after 1991

Analysis included elapsed time of performance, and subjective assessments of: choir size; quality of singing; weight; balance and coordination; tuning; dynamic range; vocal clarity; and prominence of basses.

RESULTS

The recordings fell into one of two primary patterns or formulations, which were termed for convenience 'concert' and 'chamber'. Concert performances involved larger choirs, weightier singing, prominent *oktavists*, and marked accentuation and dynamics. This was true of the original recording, made by Alexander Sveshnikov and the State Academic Choir of the USSR in 1965⁵. Slavic choirs in Groups 1 and 2 generally followed this formulation. Performances of non-Slavic choirs in Group 3 were much more variable. Some followed the more massive concert formulation. However, many were smaller and gave lighter chamber performances with better balance across the four voice parts, although with rare exceptions the basses were more than adequate even without large numbers of *oktavists*. Other than in the weight of performance, the most obvious variation was in tempo. The slowest performances took 10 -10 ½ minutes. In contrast, the fastest, from some non-Slavic choirs, took a mere 6 – 6 ½ minutes. Across all three groups, the quality of singing was generally better in the professional ensembles, but was not directly related to the size of the ensemble. Vocal clarity was generally good, and pronunciation appeared adequate in most non-Slavic choirs.

DISCUSSION

This study raises several interesting questions. Firstly, what makes a good performance? The availability of a wide variety of recordings from choirs around the world seems to indicate two basic choices. The first is a concert approach, usually with a large number of singers and *oktavists*, and a massive, dramatic rendition of great brilliance. This is the model created in Sveshnikov's original recording, and followed thereafter by most Slavic choirs, and some non-Slavic choirs. The second is a chamber approach, with more nuanced singing and fewer extremes, but with no less emotional impact. As to speed, the very rapid tempi of some non-Slavic performances seemed out of kilter with the traditionally slow, reverential style of Russian Church singing. These faster recordings aside, other chamber recordings offered tempi that are just as slow

2 See Appendix Table

3 "Rachmaninoff Vespers Text and Translations", The Singers. Accessed May 30, 2020, <https://www.singersmca.org/vespers>

4 The latter never officially appeared in the USSR, but was released in the West,

5 Moody, "Rachmaninov's All-Night Vigil," 125

as the weightier concert performances. Maintenance of phrasing can be challenging at very slow tempi, and is a traditional strength of Slavic choirs. However, lapses in phrasing were not notable in non-Slavic choirs. Another area in which Slavic choirs would seem to have an advantage is in Church Slavonic, but pronunciation of non-Slavic choirs was adequate, at least to the author's ear.

A second important question is: how are performance norms established? Why has Sveshnikov seemed to establish such an important precedent? Part of the answer may lie in the circumstances of the recording. Sveshnikov conducted a world-class Russian choir, and a large group of *oktavists*. He was a superb conductor who himself sang in the Moscow Synodal choir, before sacred music was effectively shut down by the October Revolution in 1917. We also know that the first performances of this work in 1915 were given in concert in public to raise money for the First World War, rather than in a sacred space as part of the liturgy. In addition, this recording apparently required several takes, and was produced at a time when the Soviet Union was strongly projecting its achievements to the West. That all seems reasonable. However, if Sveshnikov's had been a more nuanced, or even a chamber performance, consistent with what we know of his own singing career, and sung for liturgical purposes, would it still function as such a powerful role model? The answer may depend primarily on the 'prime mover' effect, simply the fact that his recording was the first, and was automatically the most important in shaping ensuing performance norms. If so, his recording might well have been the default model, regardless, at least until something preferable came along.

The introduction and development of recording technology, and now the internet, mean that performances are now no longer evanescent and subject to fallible analysis from memory. Everyone can listen, re-listen and compare performances, and decide what they like, based on objective criteria, and especially on subjective aesthetic and emotional considerations. This study suggests an apparent binary choice for Rachmaninov's All-Night Vigil between a brilliant, muscular concert prototype, and a more nuanced chamber presentation that seems to be emerging among non-Slavic choirs. Which is preferable is naturally a matter of individual choice. It should be noted that a similar debate has occurred in relation to Western sacred music of the Baroque period. Should this involve weighty performances with large choirs, and orchestras with loud, modern instruments? Or would lighter performances with smaller choirs and softer period instruments be preferable?⁶ Many listeners may be more comfortable sticking with the prototypical, concert Russian approach. However, the Magnificat is Mary's canticle, said reflectively by a humble woman, in reverence and thanks for her blessing. Given this and the complexity and musical brilliance of Rachmaninov's score, should we perhaps now be exploring more nuanced performances?⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Moody, Ivan, "Rachmaninov's All-Night Vigil," *Gramophone*, December (2016): 124-129

⁶ As one example, Otto Van Klemperer's recordings of the first movement of Bach's St. Mathew Passion are weighty, and generally last 12 minutes <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yojsqLYTnEg>. Compare this with recordings made by Nikolaus Harnoncourt, with a much smaller choir and baroque instruments, which last just 6 ½ minutes - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F9ZEtPwMOtU>.

⁷ After this analysis was complete, the author became aware of Ivan Moody's review of available performances for the Gramophone. Although, some of the recordings were different, there was concordance between the two analyses. In addition, although the present study was not primarily concerned with identifying a best buy, this author agrees that the performance by the Latvian Radio Choir, with Sigvards Klāva conducting, is a worthy exemplar of chamber performances of this work.

APPENDIX TABLE (STILL CURRENTLY AVAILABLE)

	Choir	Conductor	Country	Date Posted	URL	
Pre-1991	1	State Academic Russian Choir of the USSR	Alexandr Sveshnikov	Russia	April 1, 2012	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rWKA7i_JJ2M
	2	Johann Damascene Choir	Karl Linke	Germany	January 21, 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xsbui_gjXQY
	3	St. Petersburg Cappella	Vladislav Chernushenko	Russia	March 31, 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SBYy9TjQ-mc
	4	USSR Ministry of Culture Chamber Choir	Valery Polyansky	Russia	December 5, 2010	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GjnM4ujeUPM&index=11&list=PL61F7A648358A3586
Post-1991	1	St Petersburg Chamber Choir	Nikolai Korniev	Russia	December 15, 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7I2fm5JTbBk
	2	Bulgarian National Choir	Georgi Robev	Bulgaria	August 10, 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_iWugP6sYc
Slavic Countries	3	Male Choir "Accordance"	Aleksandr Govorov	Russia	August 8, 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8re_dtHQwkc
	4	National Choir of the Ukraine	Yevhen Savchuk	Ukraine	April 26, 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b7G_0Hp-t6k
	5	Choir Academy of Choral Art. V.S.Popova	Dmitri Korczak	Russia	April 30, 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oxW3fJkEzJ4
	6	Radio Television of Serbia Choir	Bojan Sudić	Serbia		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mJzFVRn27GE&t=20s
	7	Choir of the Academy of Choral Art	Vladimir Spivakov	Russia	April 8, 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-cG0N94LPw&t=2457s
	8	The State Moscow Chamber Choir Children's Choir Vesna	Vladimir Minin	Russia	September 8, 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HE1ctSyVo74
Post-1991	1	Seattle Pro Musica	Karen P. Thomas	USA	October 17, 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JBLBI2pNUzQ
Other Countries	2	Dale Warden Singers	Dale Warden	USA	February 21, 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N5Pec9-ZqmE
	3	Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir	Paul Hillier	Estonia		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P0szOKGsHyk&index=11&list=PLPt7zqMDQ-wmqHIT5P-DUrh1HsyccDYCa-
	4	Latvian Radio Choir	Sigvards Kļava	Latvia		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VgBLkrfjys

5	Phoenix and Kansas City Chorale	Charles Bruffy	USA	August 10, 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sltC-BnMQos
6	WDR Rundfunkchor	Nicolas Fink	Germany	March 14, 2016	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iG3ERmMtWQs
7	Uppsala Academic Chamber Choir	Stefan Parkman	Sweden	May 18, 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B-lpss0-8ac
8	Dei Cantores	Peter Jermikov	USA	July 23, 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kns5o9mWE2Q
9	Podlasie Opera and Philharmonic Choir	Violetta Bielecka	Poland	May 17, 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k8BDwBm7wkE
10	Yale Choral Artists	Geoffrey Douma	USA	August 1, 2013	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SjXJeYz8Gxc
11	Choral Intensive Drew University	D. Jason Bishop	USA	February 11, 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mgkhFK11APs
12	Giovanni Consort	Carl Crossin	Australia	October 7, 2013	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=axuXOmfEw7E
13	The Basilica Cathedral Choir, and MEOCCA	Sara Ann Pogorely, Teri Larson	USA	December 31, 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgTeT9mXuXU
14	Downtown Voices	Stephen Sands	USA	August 13, 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y4ncOpGjxLY
15	Bach Musica NZ	Rita Paczian	New Zealand	January 23, 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LKVzZEkwj3U
16	Finnish National Opera Chorus	Eric-Olof Soderstrom	Finland	January 8, 2016	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QAiXc_57BvE
17	Chor des Bayerischen Rundfunks	Michael Gläser	Germany	June 16, 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=obDBvXOG6Jw
18	Rhodes College Mastersingers	Tony Gardner	USA		http://www.patriciagrady.net/Musichtmls/vespers/11MySoul.mp3



CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES OF CHURCH SINGING AT THE VALAAM MONASTERY IN HEINÄVESI¹

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This paper is based on my participant observation as a singer, chanter, and reader, carried out in Valaam Monastery over multiple periods since 2013. In May of that year I went to the monastery in order to photograph musical manuscripts. I also attended divine services, to notice that the quality of worship had greatly improved since my last visit of a few days in 2005. One reason for this was that after a break of several years, there once again were singers in the brotherhood.

At some point during my visit, the cantor tentatively approved me to sing. My first engagement was a Panikhida at the cemetery. After that I heard the words: “Welcome also to the kliros.” I then found myself singing the services of Pentecost in the choir of the brotherhood. It consisted of two monastics and me. This has been the composition of the choir on many occasions ever since.

In August of 2015 I was returning to the monastery to gather more materials. In the train I received a phone call from Archimandrite Sergei. He explained that the brotherhood was going on a pilgrimage to Russia. The cantor they had hired had had to cancel, and now he asked if I could by any chance sing the services during that week. I promised to try, but said that quite probably my skills were inadequate. In fact, I had virtually no experience whatsoever of chanting ferial services, in particular those of a monastery. But everything went well.

After that, I formally started as a voluntary worker, so that recently I have spent at the monastery some time during most months of the year. In addition to the church, I have been cataloguing and researching the historical music collections of the library.

¹ This article contains slight adjustments and updates in relation to the paper read at the ISOCM Conference of 2019, and references to audio examples played on that occasion have been removed. The description itself still pertains to the situation at the monastery until the summer of 2019, the more recent evolution of the subject not having been taken into consideration. The author is thankful for the sympathy and support to the current research of the monastery brotherhood and personnel, in particular the Very Reverend Archimandrite Sergei, and for the Valamo Foundation for financially supporting the presentation.

DIVINE SERVICES

At first, the most difficult thing for me was that the services started at six in the morning, when I was in far from my best state. But I somehow got used to it. On the other hand, the schedule is easy to remember: in most cases, one needs to be in the church at six, morning and evening. On Sundays and great feasts, the schedule differs somewhat. For most of the year, the time needed for services is from three to five hours a day.

TABLE 1: SCHEDULE OF DIVINE SERVICES

Weekdays (eve and day)	Great Feasts and Sundays	Sunday evening
18.00 9th Hour, Vespers, Evening Prayers (1½ hours) Great Lent: Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays: Great Compline (instead of Evening Prayers), Wednesdays and Fridays: Liturgy of Presanctified	18.00 Vigil (2¼ hours, if not longer)	18.00 Vespers, Three Kanons and Akathist (1½ hours)
06.00 Morning Prayers, Orthros; Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays also Liturgy (c. 1½–2 hours); Great Lent: Mesonyktikon (instead of Morning Prayers), Liturgy on Saturday	09.00 3rd Hour, Liturgy, Panagia Service (about 2 hours)	

Additionally, the Moleben (about half an hour) is served at 12.00 on Saturdays and daily during the summer. On some feasts and other days, the order is different.

The services at Valaam, mainly conducted in Finnish but sometimes containing parts in Church Slavonic and other languages, are generally officiated with less abbreviation than is the parish practice in Finland. In all services, troparia and kontakia are almost always sung as appointed. Vespers is sung absolutely in its full form. Vesperal Psalms and stichera are sung as appointed, the psalms read in full. On ferial days, Vespers contains the appointed kathisma and is preceded by the Ninth Hour, unless there was a Vigil on the previous day.

Little Vespers is never served. As part of Vigil, Vespers contains the first stasis of the first kathisma, however, with no stichologia; on Saturdays, the two remaining stases are read. Litia and artoklasia are performed in every Vigil as appointed, although the first prayer of the litany is substituted with the beginning of the augmented litany. Stichera aposticha are sung in full. On ferial days, Vespers takes about half an hour, and as part of a Vigil, about one hour.

On the other hand, Orthros is not served without abbreviations. Only one kathisma is read. On Sundays, only one gradual antiphon is read or sung. Instead of the full set of appointed canons with usually 14 stanzas for each ode, the typical selection in Valaam is something like four stanzas from one or two canons, one of them being the heirmos. The heirmos is not repeated. On great feasts with two canons, the heirmos is sung only from the first canon. On ferial days, the heirmoi are taken from the Octoechos, but they are not always those of the first canons.

On feasts of saints, the appointed first canon of the Theotokos is omitted, and the heirmoi are taken from the first canon of the saint. Canons of the Menaion are omitted for commemorations of less than Polyeleos rank. Katavasia are almost always only sung to odes eight and nine. Because the Menaion canons are left out even during Great Lent, the Lenten Orthroi have only two, three or four odes. Biblical Canticles are obviously omitted.

Further abbreviations take place after the canon. Whereas the stichera of Vespers are mostly sung in full, some of the stichera of praise are typically left out. On Sundays, the Gospel sticheron is usually sung.

When Orthros is followed by Liturgy, it is cut off right after the Great Doxology. When there is no Liturgy, the service proceeds as usual, but before the end, the Gospel of the Liturgy is read.

Orthros is generally not followed by the First Hour, unless it is part of Vigil. Even in that case, only one psalm is read. The Liturgy is preceded by the Third Hour in those cases when Orthros has been officiated on the previous evening. Therein, all three psalms are read. The Sixth Hour is normally read only as part of Royal Hours.

During Lenten ferial days, the Mesonyktikon that precedes Orthros is officiated almost in full. The main abbreviation pertains to Kathisma 17, which is divided into five parts, of which the first is read on Monday, the second on Tuesday, and so on.

The minimum personnel needed in church consist of a priest, a cantor, a reader, and a *ponomar*. On Sundays and feasts, the preference is to have more than one priest and one or two deacons. The limits of the brotherhood are soon reached: as of May 2019, there are eight monastics working in church. As not all are able to handle every task and are not always present, deficit occurs easily, and outside assistance is appreciated.

CHURCH SINGING AT VALAAM

That the available forces are limited has the effect that polyphonic singing by the brotherhood is possible quite infrequently. The brotherhood has two professional cantors who are hierodeacons, and in church they have also assignments other than singing. Professionalism means not only the knowledge of chants, but also good voices, conducting skill, musical taste and the ability to create a well-considered stylistic outcome. Of particular importance are musical fluency, rhythmical precision and consistency. At the monastery it is generally unfeasible to sing slowly, because that would lengthen the services and make them tedious.

Beside the cantors, some other members of the brotherhood have chanting shifts. Sometimes the shifts are taken by volunteers. On certain feasts, the volunteer singers organize themselves as the Male Choir of Valaam Monastery. A few times per year, the Konevets Quartet, a professional ensemble from St Petersburg, comes to the monastery and sings in divine services. Occasionally also, visiting parish and other choirs may participate.

As I have shown elsewhere,² the Slavonic singing tradition of Old Valaam came to its end in the late 1960s. Quite probably, the death of Hegumen Nestor in 1967 was the last blow, after which there was no longer a monastic choir capable of musical singing. In the 1970s, the liturgical language, and also the language of church music, shifted gradually to Finnish. The main problem in that was that almost no liturgical texts were available in Finnish. When there were no more persons capable of reading in Slavonic, an unfortunate impoverishment of the services resulted. The situation finally improved with the availability and observance of the full Octoechos, Menaion, Triodion, and Pentecostarion, something that came about only during the present decade.

2 Jopi Harri, "On the Polyphonic Chant of Valaam Monastery" in *Church, State and Nation in Orthodox Church Music*, ed. Ivan Moody and Maria Takala-Roszczenko (Jyväskylä: The International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2010), 203–204; "Valamon luostarin kirkkolaulun ominaispiirteitä 1800- ja 1900-luvuilla" in *Etnomusikologian vuosikirja 28* (S.l.: Suomen Etnomusikologinen Seura r.y., 2016), 2.

THE MUSICAL REPERTOIRE

The fading of the old brotherhood and the change of language had the side-effect that the bulk of the old musical repertoire of Valaam went out of use and was almost entirely forgotten. In spite of these changes, contemporary church singing in Valaam is by every measure something that can be called traditional, or normal, being a direct follow-up to the historical continuum that dates back to pre-Revolutionary Valaam. There are no nationalist, xenophilic, eclecticist, or modernizing tendencies. The basic repertoire is relatively constant but easily expanded when there is need, given that the style remains consistent. Although the set-up in a small monastery requires certain concessions, the current situation is more than merely acceptable.

CURRENT BASIC CHANTS FOR MUTABLE HYMNS

The changing hymns are mostly sung from text, *a prima vista*. This applies to stichera, troparia, kontakia and heirmoi, and some other genres, such as magnifications and the sung parts of akathists. Unlike the old practice of Valaam, sessional hymns are now usually not sung, but read.

In principle, but only in principle and not in every respect, the chants for this are the same as in Finnish parish usage, into the structure and background of the chants of which I conducted research in my licentiate thesis of 2001.³ The majority of these chants represent the Court Chant of St Petersburg, but there are some peculiarities also.

Starting in 2018, I made the attached engraving (see the Appendix) of these 22 chants sung in Valaam, intended as a reference for the monastery, since no such document existed previously. This has to do with the fact that I had noticed that we actually *did not* sing these chants in the way they appear in chant books.

While in most cases the main modification is the transposition of the parts so that the melody is doubled not in the lower sixth but in the upper third, in others there are more substantial changes. Now if someone is invited to the kliros and tries to sing without realizing this, the result is certainly less than acceptable.

There are eight *samoglasen* chants mainly for stichera, seven troparion chants for troparia, kontakia, and related hymns (troparia and kontakia of tone 5 are sung to the samoglasen), and seven for heirmoi (heirmoi of tone 3 are sung to the troparion chant), totalling 22 Octoechos chants to be memorized by the singer.

In the engraving, such models are provided for the chants so that the singer can recall them easily, assuming that he is already familiar with them to a sufficient extent. From the scientific point of view, the documentation is less than detailed and lacks formal exactness. Most models are taken from the chant book *Sunnuntaivoigilia* [Sunday Vigil] (1957; 1986),⁴ the remaining ones from some other part of the common repertory.

In printed books, the chants are usually rendered in such a way that the melody is placed in the soprano part, and it is doubled at the lower sixth in the tenor part. The doubling is occasionally deviated from somewhat. In the Valaam set-up, the top part (first tenor) is usually the upper third of the melody (found in the second tenor), that is, the part that most often corresponds to the tenor part of the mixed choir setting.

3 Jopi Harri, Suomalainen kahdeksansävelmistö ja venäläinen traditio (unpublished Licentiate of Philosophy thesis, Department of Musicology, University of Turku, 2001).

4 *Sunnuntaivoigilia: Kahdeksansävelmistöineen* (Pieksämäki: Ortodoksisen kirjallisuuden julkaisuneuvosto, 1957).

But at Valaam, the melody is doubled at the upper third as systematically as possible even when the printed music has something different. In some cases, this strict doubling causes modification even in the harmony. Those chants that differ most from the printed renditions are the samoglasen chant and heirmos chant of tone 5; the heirmos chant of tone 2, the scheme of which is simplified in relation to the printed version; and the heirmos chant of tone 7.

The differences are less pronounced in the troparion chants of tones 1, 2, and 8. The heirmoi of tone 3 are to be sung in the same way as troparia, although the resurrectional heirmoi have been set in a slightly different manner in *Sunnuntaivigilia*.

Because of the lack of singers, four-part singing on the Valaam kliros is a rarity at this moment. When there is one singer, one or another of the melodic parts is chosen, perhaps most frequently the lower of them. When there are more singers, the singing usually takes place in two or three parts. Singing in two parts normally happens in parallel thirds. If there is a third singer, usually a lower part is attached, consisting of the baritone part (the second part from the bottom) of the engraving, or the bass part, or an orally synthesized *ad hoc* part based on both. Sometimes the set-up may be such that the baritone part is sung transposed to the upper octave, and in three-part singing, the bass part is then left out.

The ranges of all chants in the engraving have been kept as uniform as possible. If the range be unsuitable for the current choir, a more feasible basic pitch can be selected. Even within the same basic pitch, the music can always be transposed by a fourth in any direction.

Experience has shown that even advanced singers have difficulties in memorizing the versicle phrases of the samoglasen chants (in the current practice usually applied only to the Doxology refrains by the choir), even when these are to be sung from the sheet of music that is kept on the kliros for reference. Therefore, the Doxology refrains have been placed before each sticheron model. It would be preferable to know these also with such confidence that the singer would have no need to resort to notated music.

As is obvious to practicing church musicians, singing from text requires not only theoretical knowledge about the conduct of the chant. It entails also the kind of cognitive automation that renders possible the attachment of any text line to the chant phrase in a uniform way even when there are multiple singers, who sing in parts. As we know, it can be made to work. I am unaware of research into this process, even if it would make an interesting topic. Certainly in the singing there are often some faults, but on the other hand, the more this is done, the better it becomes.

SAMOGLASEN AND PODOBEN CHANTS OF THE VALAAM TRADITION

One part of my research has been the reconstruction of the Valaam *samoglasen* and *podoben* chants.⁵ These were used in the old singing tradition for almost all of the changing hymns. At that time, the choir did not sing from text, but the singing took place with the canonarch. There were a total of 20 chants: eight samoglasen chants and twelve podoben chants, of which one had fallen into disuse before the 1890s. The podoben chants were used for stichera automela and prosomoia, and the samoglasen chants to other stichera, troparia, kontakia, sessional hymns and some other hymns, but generally not for heirmoi, other than those of tone 3.

⁵ Jopi Harri, "How Were Stichera Sung at Valaam?" *Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music* 3 (2018): 151-184.

These chants can also be sung without the canonarch, in the same fashion as the current generic chants, but as they fell into disuse, they cannot be readily sung without music. Recently we have been using them at Valaam on a few festal occasions. These include the feasts of Ss Sergius and Herman on September 11 and June 28, and the feast of St John of Valaam on 5 June. Furthermore, the Orthros antiphons of Great Friday have been set to Valaam chants.

COMPOSITIONS AND OTHER HYMNS SUNG FROM MUSIC

Fixed hymns, as well as even some changing hymns, are also sung from music. The musical materials are quite heterogeneous. Among them there are usual and less ordinary printed chant books from different times (see Table 2), and photocopied extracts of them, but also a significant amount of unpublished music. This covers photocopies of handwritten manuscripts, as well as computer engravings. Much of this music has been written down by the monastery cantors and some others, mostly during the last decade.

TABLE 2: SELECTION OF CHANT BOOKS USED ON THE VALAAM KLIROS

- **Vigil:** *Sunnuntaivigilia* (1986, first edn. 1957); *Vigilia I* (1943, contains a good variety of fixed hymns in different versions); *Veisatkaa Herralle* (abr. Festal Menaion, 1981, orig. 1942).
- **Liturgy:** *Jumalallinen liturgia* (2011); *Liturgia* (1954); *Обиход церковного пения: Божественная Литургия* (М. 2005); *Песнопения Божественной Литургии* (Красногорск 2008)
- **Both/others:** *Ortodoksinen laulukirja* (Orthodox Hymnal, 1944, two- and three-part versions of fixed hymns ed. by hm. Paul); *Hautaustoimitus* (Funeral, 1959); *Hautaustoimitus* (Funeral, 1913); *Обиходъ Валаамскаго Монастыря* (1909)
- **Text editions:** *Oktoehos* (Resurrectional, 1983); *Juhlaminea* (Festal Menaion, 1987); *Pentekostarion* (1999); the usual service books in Slavonic.
- The ferial Octoechos, Menaion, and Triodion in Finnish are used as unpublished sheets.

The loose-leaf materials on the kliros as of May 2019 incorporate a decent selection of traditional chants and through-composed pieces by various composers from the classical repertoire common in Russia and Ukraine.⁶

Highlights of that repertoire are provided in Table 3. Additional music on loose leaves include litanies, Lenten hymns and chants (those by Kustovskij are used for litanies and the like), and miscellaneous (festal) hymns. All the loose-leaf music on the kliros I have investigated for this paper covers about 500 pages. Most of it is in use.

The majority of the music is written for a four-part male, mixed, or monastic choir, but there are also settings in three and two parts. When the music is sung, the parts are adjusted accordingly. Quite often the parts are not sung as written, but modified *ad hoc*.

When the current repertoire is compared to the Slavonic manuscripts that were used until the 1970s, one may notice that a considerable part of the music is the same, and what remains is stylistically similar.

⁶ Between the conference and the current May of 2020, a significant amount of music has been introduced to the Valaam kliros, but because systematic research into the additions is not possible at this time, they remain unconsidered in the present article.

TABLE 3: HIGHLIGHTS OF LOOSE-LEAF SHEET MUSIC ON THE VALAAM KLIROS

(* = only Slavonic; underlined = sung even before 1970).

- **Vigil:** Psalm 103 (TSL; Samarín; Allemanov); Blessed Is the Man (Rostov; Ionafan; TSL; Riga); Gladsome Light (Bakhmetev; Valaam; Lavrskoe; Azeyev); Great Prokeimena (Znamenny); Prokeimena (Valaam); Vouchsafe (KPL); Litany of Litia (“Vodka con el mescalín”; Yachkov*); Sanctifying the Whole World (Valaam); Song of Simeon (Pühtitsa; Bulgarian; Arkhangelsky); Rejoice; Virgin Theotokos (Ledkovsky; Anon.; Smirnov; Hurko; Gvozdetskiy*); Psalm 33 (Kievan); Praise the Name of the Lord (Valaam; Obihod; Lvovsky; Athonite; Arzumanov); Resurrectional Troparia Blessed Art Thou (Znamenny; Optina); From My Youth (KPL; Valaam; Ozerov; Solovetsky Chant; TSL); I Shall Open My Mouth (Greek / Lvov); Magnificat (Ozerov; Stetsenko*; Anon.); Thou Art Most Blessed (Kievan; Optina*; Valaam); Great Doxology (Znamenny; Stolp); Today Salvation & Thou Didst Rise (Valaam); To Thee; the Victorious Leader (Valaam; Allemanov; *Sedmierzernaya Joy of the heavenly host*).
- **Liturgy:** First Antiphon (Matfey am.; KPL); Second Antiphon (KPL; Znamenny / Matfey am.); Only-Begotten Son (Anon.; Valaam ferial); Beatitudes (Anon.; Martynov*; Obikhod; Allemanov); O Come Let Us Worship (Anon.*; Kievan); Trisagion (Kievan; KPL*; Golovanov*; Polish*); Alleluia (Valaam / Harri; “Moscow” *Their proclamation*; KPL in 8 tones); Cherubic Hymn (*Their proclamation / Harri*; Vladimir / Harri; Vladimir / Kastalsky / James hd.; Pechengian; Vedel; Sergievskaya; Sofronievskaya; *Their proclamation / Kastorsky*; “Titanikskaya” = *Nearer, my God, to Thee*; KPL *Obyatiya ottsa*; Sofronievskaya / Kastalsky; Smirnov No. 3; Simonovskaya; *Let all mortal flesh / Vissarion m.* [Uvarov]; Malashkin Op. 29; Valaam / Harri; Simonov-Streletsk / Solovyev; Staro-Simonovskaya / Kastalsky; Kalinnikov / James hd.; Ufimskaya; Serbian; Lyadov; *Scarborough Fair / McGlynn / James hd.*); Creed (“Major–Minor”; “Akathist chant”); Eucharist (Bulgarian*; Znamenny / Hakonen; Znamenny / Kovalevsky; Rimahov*; Skitskoe; *He is my helper and protector / Vissarion hm.* [Uvarov]; Jerusalem; Valaam / Harri; Arkhangelsky [in the spirit of ancient chants]; Bulgarian / Byzantine; Serbian / Harri; Serbian / Kastorsky; Rostov; Athonite; Hristov; Pseudo-Valaam / Trubachev*; Kievan for St. Basil / Izvekov; Kievan / Gardner; Myasoedov in Major); It Is Truly Meet (Valaam O house of Ephratha / Shidlovsky; Pochaiv; KPL tone 8; *Sedmierzernaya Joy of the heavenly host*; Optina *When he took Thee dead; Of old You buried*; Bortnyansky; Valaam after the canon); The Angel Cried (Valaam Sbornik); Lord’s Prayer (Pochaiv*; Kievan); One is Holy (KPL; Znamenny); Praise the Lord (*Raduysya / Rimsky-Korsakoff*); Communion hymns, various (*Raduysya / Posternak*); Like As the Hart Panteth (Alexandrov chant); Give Rest with the Just (Pseudo-Lvovsky); Thou Only Art Immortal (Pseudo-Lvovsky); O Fervent Protectress (Anon.); I Will Pour Forth My Prayer (“Olden chant”); The Just Shall Be in Everlasting Remembrance (Greek / Kastorsky); We Have No Other Help (Kievan); Beneath Thy Compassion (Bortnyansky): Exapostilarion for all saints of Valaam (KPL); Many Years (Evdokimov*; Tver*).

The known Finnish adaptors and engravers include: Bondarenko, Maria (2 hits); Damaskinos, s-hm. [Olkinuora] (1); Hakonen, Petri, p. (3); Harri, Jopi (18); Härkönen, Jyrki, pd. (1); James, hd. [Zhukov] (76); Ketola, Jari (4); Matveinen, Pauli (1); Nemlander, Elena (1); Paul, hm., archb. [Olmari] (4); Petsalo, Elisabet (9); Takala-Roszczenko, Maria (1); Tchervinskij, Helena (3); Vola, Joosef, p. (75); Wilenius, Tatjana (1).

Key to abbreviations: TSL = Trinity-Sergius Lavra; KPL = Kiev-Pechersk Lavra; hd. = hierodeacon; hm. = hieromonk; s-hm. = schema-hieromonk; p. = priest; pd. = protodeacon; archb. = archbishop.

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Sunnuntaivigilia: Kahdeksansävelmistöineen (Pieksämäki: Ortodoksisen kirjallisuuden julkaisu-neuvosto, 1957).

Appendix Tone 1 Samoglasen |1|2|3|4:|T||

Kunnia... Po - jal - le ja Py - häl - le Hen - gel - le.
 Nyt... i - an - kaik - ki - ses - ti. A - - - men. 1) Vei - suin ylistäkäämme Neitsyttä Mariaa, koko



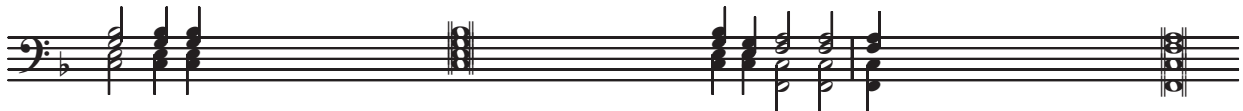
maa - il - man kun - ni - aa, 2) ihmisistä syntynyttä ja Valtiaan syn - nyt - tä - jää, 3) tai - vaan porttia, ruumiittomien olentojen



veisausta ja us - ko - vais - ten kau - nis - tus - ta. 4) Sillä hän tuli taivaaksi ja ju - ma - luu - den temp - pe - lik - si.



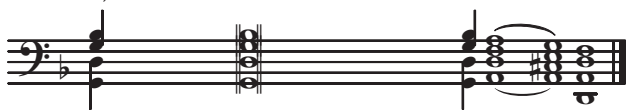
1) Lyö - ty - ään maahan vihan väliseinän hän toi tilalle rauhan ja avasi val - ta - kun - nan. 2) Hänessä meillä on uskon ankkuri, ja



hänestä syntynyt Herra on puolesta - tais - te - li - jam - me. 3) O - le siis roh - ke - a, Jumalan kansa, ä - lä pel - kää,



T) sillä kaikkivoimallinen Herra viholliset voit - taa.



The Versicle Phrase is independent. There is a long note before the recitative in Phrases 1 and 3, which are considerably similar to each other. The similarity of Phrases 2 and 4 may cause more confusion especially in hymns of greater length. In order to avoid this, it may be useful to remember that of these two, Phrase 4 is longer and is followed by the dominant chord.

Tone 2 Samoglasen |1:2|3|4:|T||

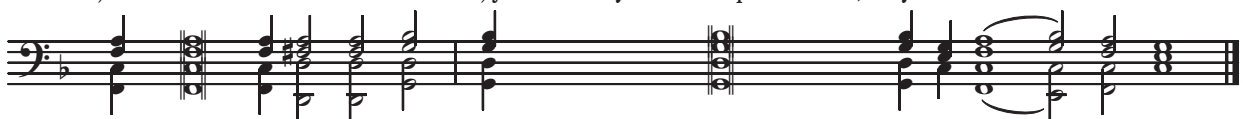
Kunnia... ja Py - häl - le Hen - gel - le.
 Nyt, aina ja iankaikkises - ti. A - - - men. 1) Tulkaa, kumartakaamme Isästä ennen kaikkia aikoja syn - ty - nyt - tä



2) ja Neitseeistä Mariasta lihaksi tullutta Jumalaa Sa - naa, 3) sil - lä omasta vapaasta tahdostaan kärsitty - ään ris - tin



4) Hän salli haudata it - sen - sä T) ja kuolleista ylösnousten pelasti minut, eksy - neen ih - mi - sen.



The Versicle Phrase is similar to the Terminal Phrase. There is a long note before the recitative in Phrase 3. The long note may be preceded by short notes. In practice, the long note may be left out, but this should not take place without reason.

Tone 3 Samoglasen |:1|2:|T||

Kunnia... ja Py - häl - le Hen - gel - le.
 Nyt... i - an - kaik - ki - ses - ti. A - men. 1) Sinun ristisi kautta, Kristus Vapahta - ja, 2) on kuoleman valta
 ku - kis - tet - tu 1) ja kiusaajan eksytys tyhjäksi teh - ty; 2) mutta uskossa pelastuva ihmis - su - ku
 T) Sinulle alati kiitos - virt - tä e - des - kan - taa.

The Versicle Phrase is similar to the Terminal Phrase.

The whole thing may be sung also in this fashion, transposed down by a fourth:

1) Sinun ristisi kautta, Kristus Vapahta - ja, 2) on kuoleman valta ku - kis - tet - tu... T) Sinulle alati kiitos - virt - tä e - des - kan - taa.

Tone 4 Samoglasen |1|2:|3|4|5:|T||

Kunnia... Py - häl - le Hen - - - gel - le.
 Nyt... i - an - kaik - ki - ses - ti. A - men. 1) Sinun eläväsitekevälle ristillesi alati kumartaen, Kristus
 Ju - ma - la, 2) me kolmantena päivänä tapahtunutta ylösnousemistasi ylistäm - me. 3) Sil - lä sen kautta Sinä, kaikki -
 voi - mal - li - nen, 4) uudistit perin turmeltuneen ihmis - luon - non 5) ja avasit meille tien tai - vai - siin,
 T) oi ainoa hyvä ja ihmi - si - ä ra - kas - ta - va.

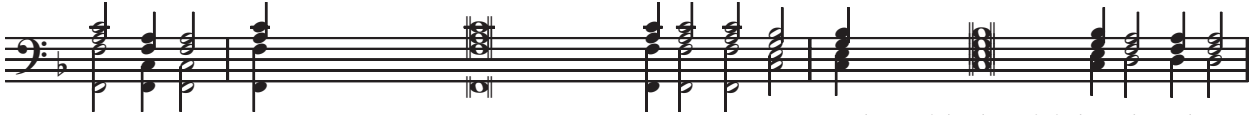
The Versicle Phrase is independent. There is a long note at the beginning of Phrase 3, possibly preceded by upward movement. The phrase may begin also with the dissonance, directly preceding the long note.

Tone 5 Samoglasen |:1|2|3:|T||

Kunnia... ja Po-jal-le ja Py-häl-le Hen-gel-le.
 Nyt, ai-na ja i-an-kaik-ki-ses-ti. A-men. 1) Oi Kris-tus, Sinä kunniallisella ristilläsi häpäisit



kiu-saa-jan 2) ja ylösnousemisesi kautta teit synnin odan tyl-säk-si 3) ja pelastit meidät kuoleman por-teis-ta.



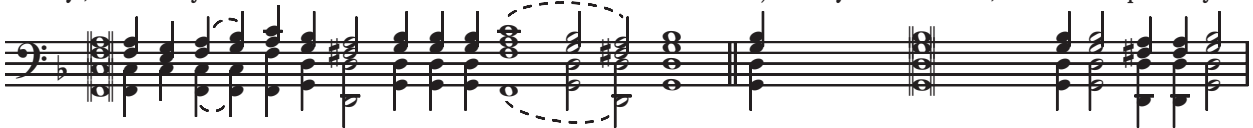
T) Me ylistämme Sinua, Jumalan ai-no-kai-nen Poi-ka.



The Versicle Phrase is independent. Phrase 1 has a long note before the recitative. The chant version differs from the one of the chant book *Sunnuntaivigilia* [Sunday Vigil] in the fashion that the melody is consistently doubled in the upper third, and the Terminal Phrase is cadenced in major. This chant is used even for troparia and kontakia.

Tone 6 Samoglasen |:1|2|3:|T||

Kunnia... ja Po-jal-le ja Py-häl-le Hen-gel-le.
 Nyt, ai-na ja i-an-kaik-ki-ses-ti. A-men. 1) Sinun ylösnousemistasi, Kristus Va-pah-ta-ja



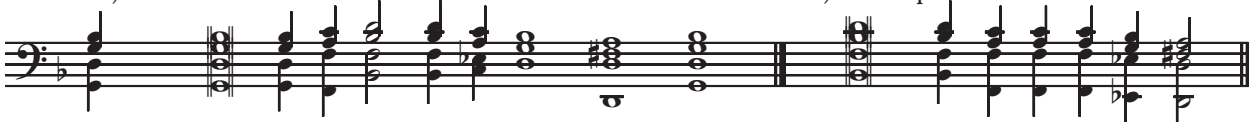
2a) enkelit veisuin ylistävät tai-vais-sa, 3) tee meidätkin maan päällä o-tol-li-sik-si



Ta) Sinua puhtain sydämin y-lis-tä-mään. 2b) ... sillä kärsittyänsä meidän edestämme ristin vai-vat



Tb) Hän kuolemal-lan-sa kuo-le-man ku-kis-ti. 3K) ... maan päällä o-tol-li-sik-si



The Versicle Phrase is independent. Should Phrase 2 occur before the Terminal Phrase, it ends like Phrase 3. The Terminal Phrase can be sung as having the upward-downward movement. In Phrase 3, and Phrase 2 before the Terminal Phrase, the lowermost parts can be sung in parallel octaves F-E♭-D in the Kievan fashion.

Tone 7 Samoglasen |:1|2:|T||

Kunnia... ja Py - häl - le Hen - gel - le.
 Nyt... i - an - kaik - ki - ses - ti. A - men. 1) Si - nä, maa - il - man Vapahtaja, nousit ylös hau - das - ta

2) ja he - rä - tit ruu - mii - si kanssa ihmiset kuol - leis - ta. T) Her - ra, kun - ni - a ol - koon Si - nul - le.

The Versicle Phrase is independent. All chant phrases have a long note before the recitative.

Tone 8 Samoglasen |:1|2|3:|T||

Kunnia olkoon Isälle ja Po - jal - le ja Py - hälle Hen - gel - le. (Hen) - gel - le.
 Nyt, ai - na ja i - an - kaik - ki - ses - ti. A - men. (a) - men.

1) Oi Jee - sus, taivaasta alas tul - lut, 2) Sinä ylensit itsesi ris - til - le 3) ja ollen kuolematon elämä

laskeuduit a - las kuo - le - maan. 1) Si - nä, to - ti - nen Val - ke - us, 2) ilmestyit pimeydes - sä o - le - vil - le

3) ja, ollen kaikkien ylösnousemus, tulit lan - gen - neit - ten ty - kö. 1) Kunnia olkoon Si - nul - le, T) mei - dän Val - ke -

u - tem - me ja Va - pah - ta - jam - me.

The Versicle Phrase is independent. Should the following sticheron begin with a long note, the end of the versicle may be led to that with upward movement. When Phrase 1 recurs, it starts on the recitative after the long note.

Tone 1 Troparion Chant |:1|2:|1|2||

1) Pe-las-ta, Her - ra, Si-nun kan - sa - si 2) ja siunaa Sinun pe-rin-tö - ä - si. 1) An - na seu-ra-kun-nal-le - si
 voit-to vi-hol-li-sis-ta 2) ja suojele ristilläsi Sinun val-ta-kun-taa-si. 1b) ... minussaon, Hänen py-hää ni-me-än-sä.

Phrase 1 can begin on either the tonic or on the dominant chord. The chant ends on Phrase 2, always preceded by Phrase 1. In the Typical Psalms of the Liturgy (if not even in other hymns), the last phrase may be preceded by Phrase 1b, once or twice. Unlike the usual chant version, herein the melody is constantly doubled in the upper third.

Tone 2 Troparion Chant |:1|2:|T||

1) Tul-tu-a-si a-las kuo-le-maan, Si-nä, kuo-le-ma-ton E-lä-mä, 2) kuoletit helvetin jumaluutesi kirk-ka-u-del-la.
 1) Ja kun kuol-leetkin manalasta y-lös he-rä-tit, 2) niin silloin kaikki taivaalliset voimat huu-si-vat: T) Elämänantaj
 Kristus, meidän Ju-ma-lam-me, kun-ni-a ol-koon Si-nul-le!

When applied to a short text line, Phrase 1 may begin with the recitative, that is, with the tonic chord. Unlike the usual chant version, herein the melody is constantly doubled in the upper third.

Tone 3 Troparion and Heirmos Chant |:1|2:|[2b]|T||

1) Rie-muit-koot taivaaalliset ja iloitkoot maan pääl-lä o - le-vat, 2) sillä Herra teki voimallisen työn kä-si-var-rel-
 lan-sa: 1) Hän kukisti kuo-le-mal-laan kuo - le-man 2) ja tuli esikoiseksi kuolleitten jou - kos-sa. 1) Helvetin
 kidasta Hän pääs-ti mei - dät 2b) ja te-ki maa - il-mal-le T) suu - ren lau - - - pe - u - den.

When Phrase 1 recurs, it should start directly with the F Major chord (the actual practice is changeable). Phrase 2b appears after Phrase 1 before the Terminal Phrase when there is an odd number of lines. A shorter variant of Phrase 2b (omitted here) may in these days be encountered perhaps nowhere else but in the responsory *God Is the Lord*. The long note of the Terminal Phrase may be preceded by recitative on the same chord. The harmony of the Terminal Phrase differs slightly from the usual chant version of printed books. The heirmoi are sung (or, should be sung) from texts according to this chant, although the heirmos chant in *Sunnuntaivigilia* is not entirely similar.

Tone 4 Troparion Chant |:1|2:|T||

1) Iloitse, Jumalan Äiti, Neitsyt, armoitettu Ma-ri-a! 2) Herra on Sinun kans-sa-si. 1) Siunattu olet Sinä naisten jou-



kos-sa, 2) ja siunattu on Sinun kohtusi he-del-mä, T) sillä Sinä olet synnyttänyt sielujemme Pe-las-ta-jan.



Tone 6 Troparion Chant |:1|2:|1|2||

1) Enkelein voimat ilmestyivät Si-nun hau-dal-le-si, 2) ja var-ti-jat menivät tainnoksiin niin-kuin kuol-leet.



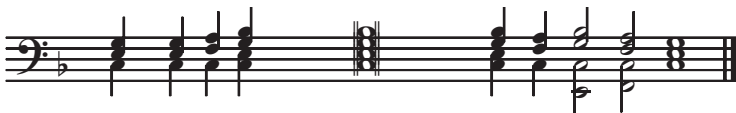
1) Maria seisoi hau-ta-si luo-na 2) et-si-en puh-tain-ta ruu-mis-ta-si. 1) Si-nä van-git-sit hel-ve-tin,



2) joka ei Si-nu-a kä-sit-tää voi-nut. 1) Sinä tulit vastaan neitseelle, oi E-lä-män-an-ta-ja,



2) kuol-leis-ta ylösnoussut Herra, kunnia ol-koon Si-nul-le.



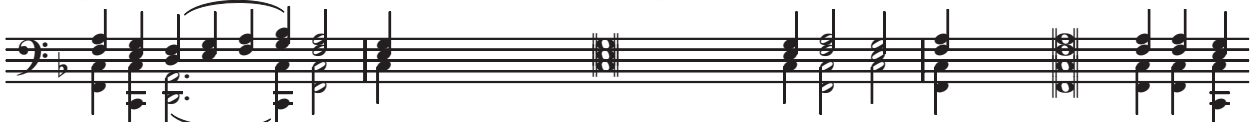
Troparia and kontakia of tone 6 are sung even to the samoglasen, perhaps in most cases.

Tone 7 Troparion Chant |:1|2:|1||

1) Oi Kristus Jumala, Sinä kir-kas-tuit vuo-rel-la 2) ja osoitit kunniasi opetus-lap-sil-le-si 1) hei-dän ky-ky-



jen-sä mu-kaan. 2) Valaiskoon Jumalansynnyttäjän rukouksien täh-den 1) meitäkin, syntisiä, i-kui-nen



val-ke-u-te-si. 2) Kun-ni-a ol-koon Si-nul-le, 1) Val-ke-u-den-an-ta-ja.



The final phrase is Phrase 1, necessarily preceded by Phrase 2.

Tone 8 Troparion Chant |:1:|T||

1) Oi Lau-pi-as, Si-nä pe-las-taak-se-si mei-dät kär-si-myk-sis-tä 1) tu-lit a-las kor-ke-uk-sis-ta ja kär-sit kol-mi-päi-väi-sen hau-dan. Ta) Her-ra, mei-dän e-lä-mäm-me ja ylösnousemisemme, kunnia olkoon Si-nul-le.

Tb) ... ol-koon Si-nul-le. Tc) ... ol-koon Si-nul-le.

The Terminal Phrase has three varieties. Ta accords with Finnish chant books, and is normally sung when there are three or four parts. In two parts, either Tb or Tc is used, the former duplicating Phrase 1, the latter ending plagally. Unlike the usual chant form, the melody in Phrase 1 is constantly doubled in the upper third.

Tone 1 Heirmos Chant |:1|2:|1|T||

1) Si-nä ainoa, joka tunnet ihmislunnon heik-ko-u-den 2) ja joka säälien meitä otit itse tämän luon-non pääl-le-si, 1) vyötä minut voimalla kor-ke-u-des-ta, 2) et-tä mi-nä huu-tai-sin Si-nul-le: 1) pyhä on Sinun sanomattoman kunniasi elävä temp-pe-li, T) oi ih-mi-si - ä ra-kas-ta-va.

The first two notes of Phrase 1, or the second of them, are customarily left out if there is an accental word in the beginning of the line or its second syllable. Likewise, the penultimate note of Phrase 1 may be omitted. The Terminal Phrase is differentiated from Phrase 2 by the quaver motion.

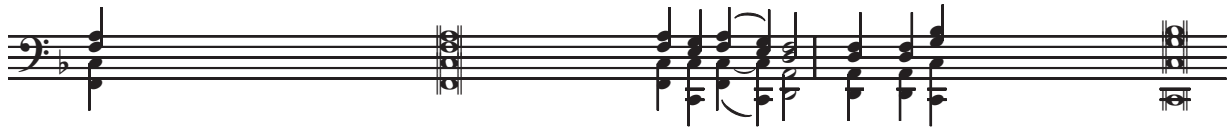
Tone 2 Heirmos Chant |:1|2|3:|T||

1) Kris-tus Ju-ma-la, 2) Sinä tulit Jumalan ja ihmisten vä-li-mie-hek-si, 3) sillä Sinun kauttasi, oi Val-ti-as, 1) meil-lä on pääsy tietämättömyyden pi-me-y-des-tä T) valkeuden alkulähteen, Si-nun I-sä-si ty-kö.

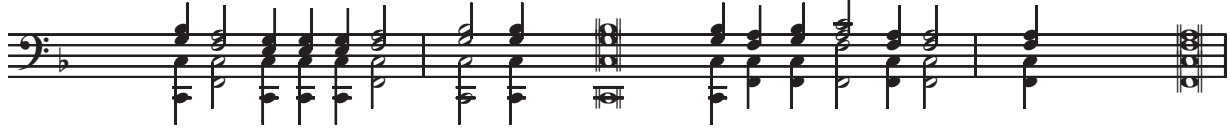
If the text demands, Phrase 1 may begin without the long note, and Phrase 2 with one. The ending of the Terminal Phrase is harmonized somewhat differently from the form in *Sunnuntaivigilia*, unlike which the melody is also constantly doubled in the upper third. When sung from text, the current chant version is preferred, even though in printed chant books and other sources it appears with slightly more variability: Phrase 1 may begin with the chord of the VI degree (D minor, nowadays rarely used beyond the First Heirmos of the Resurrectional Kanon), and at the beginning of Phrase 2 an upward movement leading to the recitative from the notes A or B is possible.

Tone 4 Heirmos Chant |:1|2|3:T||

1) Kätensä ojentaen Daniel luolassa tukki jalopeurojen ammotta-vat ki - dat, 2) kun taas hurskauttarakastavat nuorukaiset



miehuuteen vyöt - täy - ty - nei - nä 3) sam - muttivat raivoavan tulen voi - man huu - ta - en: T) Kaikki Herran luodut,



kiittääkää Her - raa.



Phrase 3 has a long note before the recitative, it may be preceded by short notes. In Valaam, the chant may be sung even in such a way that the baritone part (the tenor of the mixed choir) will become the topmost part.

Tone 5 Heirmos Chant |1|2|3|4||

1) Si - nul - le, kai - ken Luo - jal - le, 2) nuo - ru - kaiset pätsissä kohottivat yli maailman sointuvan kii - tos -



vir - ren: 3) Kaikki luodut, veisaten y - lis - tä - kää Her - raa 4) ja korkeasti kunnioittakaa Häntä kaik - ki - na



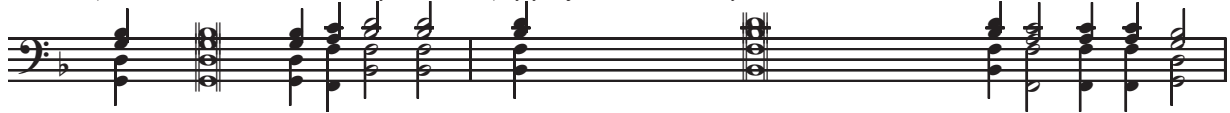
ai - koi - na.



This chant has four phrases, of which none recur or may be omitted. That being so, all heirmoi of tone 5 that are sung to this chant must be divided in four lines. Phrases 1 and 2 are mostly similar, there is difference only as to the recitative. In Phrase 1, the recitative is placed on the B \flat after the long note. Both phrases may begin directly with the long note. In this chant version of Valaam, the melody is doubled constantly in the upper third, and there are even further differences from the usual form.

Tone 6 Heirmos Chant |:1|2:|3:T||

1) Minä rukouilen Sinua, oi Hy - vä: 2) sytytä jumalallisen säteilysi voimalla rakkaus meidän sie - luis - sam - me,



1) jotka aamusta varhain ty - kö - si rien - näm - me, 2) jotta tulisimme tuntemaan Si - nut, 3) Ju - ma - lan Sa - nan,



T) syntien synkstästä pimeydestä ylös valkeuteen kut - su - van to - ti - sen Ju - ma - lan.



Tone 7 Heirmos Chant |1:2|3:T||

1) Maal-lis-ten huol-ten aal-lo-kos-sa heit - te-leh-ti-en 2) ja mat-ka - to-ve-reinani olevien syntien alla huk-ku-mai-
 sil-la-ni 3) se-kä sie-lun-turmelijan pedon raadeltavaksi syös-ty - nä 2) mi-nä Joo-nan tavoin huudan Sinulle,
 Kris-tus: T) Nosta minut y-lös kuo-let-ta-vas-ta sy-vyy-den kui-lus-ta!

This chant is a variant of the samoglasen. The first note of Phrase 1 can be shortened. The stressed Eb of Phrase 2 can be shortened, and the notes before it can be left out. Notes before the long note at the beginning of Phrase 3 can be left out. As the melody is constantly doubled in the upper third, the harmony differs from what there is in *Sunnuntaivigilia* at the end of Phrases 3 and T.

Tone 8 Heirmos Chant |:1|2:T||

1) Tai-vas ihmetteli ja maan ääret häm-mäs-tyi-vät sii - tä, 2) et-tä Ju-ma-la il-mes-tyi ih-mi-sil-le ruu-miis-sa
 1) ja et - tä Sinun povesi tuli tai-vas-ta a - va-ram-mak-si. T) Sentähden Sinua, oi Jumalansynnyttäjä, enkelein ja
 ihmisten jou - kot y - lis - tä - vät.

Phrases 1 and 2 may begin directly with the recitative.



GREEK ORTHODOX PSALTIC ART: PERFORMANCE AND/OR PRAYER?

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INTRODUCTION

The theme of the Conference, “From Manuscript to Performance,” gave me the inspiration for the subject of my announcement. This title in Greek has a variety of translations, but not in English. In Greek we can translate the word “performance” as *ἐπιτέλεση* – “epitelesi”, *ἐκτέλεση* – “ektelesi”, *ἀπόδοση* – “apodosi”, *ἐρμηνεία* – “hermeneia” or *παράσταση* – “parastasi”, but each of these words has its own subtle meaning. Thus, the Greek word “epitelesi” has the meaning of performing a religious ritual act. The word “apodosi” takes the meaning of rendering a music piece or a hymn while the interpreter (whatever he is; musician, actor, chanter, etc.) puts his personal stamp on it. The same applies to the term “hermeneia”, which is rendered by “interpretation”. The use of the word “ektelesi” is also very common in Greek and it means “execution”. It may come from “I execute an order”, probably by the fact that “one executes the instructions of the musical signs”. We say, “the musical execution of the piece was excellent”. In Greek, the word “ektelesi” also means “assassination” or “killing with execution”. However, the most common translation of the word “performance” in Greek is “parastasi”; We say: “I give/play a ‘parastasi’” (theatrical or musical performance). The word “parastasi” has other meanings, as well, but in this case, it has more to do with presenting or imitating something.

Since I do not have a good or experiential knowledge of English, I do not know what exactly the first thought of a native speaker is when he hears the word “performance”. Does he perceive “execution”, “rendering”, “religious ritual act”, “interpretation”, “show” or all these together?

A theatrical play, a musical concert, a musical-theatre performance, street music, a classical or modern ballet, popular dance, acrobatics, a magician’s show, or a spiritual action, and so on: these are definitely “performances”. The question, however, is whether the term “performance” in English is used as, includes, and means all the various aspects of everyday life. When, for example, a group of people gathers at a home for a celebration, and this gathering

eventually becomes a party feast with music, is this considered and called “performance”? And if so, by whom is it considered and called “performance”?

From various fact-finding discussions with good users of English, I understood that the word “performance” has two kinds of use: i) The wide, colloquial use, and ii) the narrow, artistic, or scientific one. Again, the artistic and scientific use has a double content: general, which is used by the representatives of art and a narrow sense, specially defined, which researchers and musicologists and musico-anthropologists have refined into a scientific term. Finally, I realized that the word “performance” may need to be accompanied by an adjective, to be clear at all times, what exactly it is referring to and what its particular meaning is.

I owe many thanks to my dear friend and brother Costis Drygianakis whom I have the great honour to have as a direct collaborator and adviser in the Department of Psaltic Art and Musicology of the Volos Academy for Theological Studies. Without exaggeration, it may be said that Mr Drygianakis is the first one in Greece to have officially introduced and applied anthropological research to the field of Byzantine musicology, and he who has turned the interest of the Greek Byzantine musicological community to this aspect. Kostis, besides the countless other things he very successfully deals with, has also a large number of musico-anthropological works (research and writing) on the modern Psaltic Art in Greece.

So, among all the possible interpretations that the term “performance” may have, and which I have described very briefly in the previous paragraphs, in the present paper I will remain with, and only deal with, the concept of “show”.

Initially, I must admit that the presence of the word “performance” in the title of the Conference, brought back to me a series of questions which have been worrying and concerning me for many years. These questions relate to issues that, on the one hand, touch on the Psaltic Art, and on the other, relate to serious issues of the Orthodox faith and spirituality, that is to say, of Orthodox life, but as yet I have not formulated them publicly, except for a small circle of friends and colleagues (chanters or Byzantine musicologists). The only open formulation of my concerns for the time being is towards my students at the Athens Ecclesiastical Academy (A.E.A.) during my lessons on Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music. Now, for a while, I have left aside my theoretical, notational and other musicological studies and come in Finland, and I am here in Joensuu with the aim of communicating my concerns first to all of you and then, through our Conference, to the whole Orthodox musicological world.

As you have already understood from the title of my announcement, I will refer to the issue specifically from the point of view of the Greek psaltic tradition, since of course I recognize that each local Orthodox Church proceeds on its course towards the end of human history, the Ἐσχάτα – “Eschata”, through its own specific circumstances and necessities.

THE PROBLEM

After the above formulation of my questioning on the Greek translation of the term “performance”, I move straight to my subject, which has two aspects: i) The use of the term “parastasis” in Greek Psaltic Art and ii) the transmutation of psalmody from prayer into “parastasis”.

I. THE USE OF THE TERM “PERFORMANCE” IN GREEK PSALTIC ART

First, let us look at the Greek term “parastasis” more thoroughly. According to online dictionaries I have consulted, the word “parastasis” has various meanings, but here we are interested in the following two:

“Parastasis” is:

- When someone displays (shows) anything in front of a person or the public.
- The presentation of a theatrical performance on stage.

The word “parastasis” is etymologically derived from the Greek verb “paristimi” (the preposition *παρά* - “para” + the verb *ἵστημι* - “istimi”) or more precisely, from the passive voice, *ἵσταμαι* - “istamai” (meaning I stand). So, *παρίσταμαι* - “paristamai”, meaning I stand side by the side or in front of someone. Therefore, “parastasis” (= “performance”) refers to someone who is present in front of others. From then on, he can represent or imitate something, he can play a musical piece, or he can interpret a musical or theatrical work with relative personal freedom.

In Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical worship and psaltic tradition, the word “parastasis” is not in use at all. Actually, “parastasis” was never used in the non-ecclesiastic Greek or folk and traditional music either. In Greek one almost never says, “I am going to a musical ‘parastasis’”, unless it is accompanied by theatrical events. We usually say, “I am going to a concert” or “I am attending a musical event” and so on. This word “parastasis” is exclusively associated with European music and the musical-theatrical genres produced therefrom. So, the habit of using the term in Greek prevailed in Greece through European music and through the various artistic genres to which the latter gave birth and distributed throughout the world. (I wonder if this is good or bad...)

II. THE TRANSMUTATION OF PSALMODY FROM PRAYER INTO “PARASTASIS”

It has been found by many specialists – if not all of them – that in its recent and modern history Psaltic Art has fallen into the trap of secularization, which is largely due to the efforts of its representatives to imitate western European musical standards. This fact also comes as a consequence of the ever-decreasing spirituality of the members of the body of the Church, in times when most people’s love for Jesus Christ has frozen, and now, even we – the believers – are lukewarm, not boiling or burning with a craving for the Kingdom of God.

Before I analyse these two phenomena, the imitation of western musical patterns and spiritual laxity, let us look at the historical evolution of the musical issue in the Church:

The Church of Christ, since the very early centuries, has adopted music in its worship as a means of reinforcing faith. With the help of music, dogma could be comprehended and absorbed by the faithful in an easier fashion.

Later, as dogma became clear and definite, music was placed on a secondary footing. Also, there were many ascetic Church Fathers who foresaw many spiritual dangers in psalmody.

Finally, Orthodox patristic theology recognizes holy psalmody as a means of prayer, especially for neophytes, spiritually incomplete faithful, but also makes it clear that the perfect prayer by which man can reach the vision of the Uncreated Light of God is the “monologistos” prayer of mind and heart “Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on me”.

Nevertheless, Byzantine, and post-Byzantine Psaltic Art reaches extreme heights, to serve the patriarchal, imperial, and monastic splendour of Greek Orthodox worship.

Nowadays, the compositions of the Byzantine, and post-Byzantine periods cannot be used in Greek Orthodox worship on account of their length, so they are treated more as artistic creations and less as intended for worship. The compositions of these periods are usually selected as repertoire for non-worship events, that is European-style performances, which have been adopted very recently by the Greek psaltai, only from the second half of the 19th century.

The 18th century was the beginning of the opening of Greek ecclesiastical music to secular musical genres, mainly from Western Europe and the Arab-Persian musical tradition. The 19th and 20th centuries are periods of intense external influences and of deep deterioration. Now, for the first time, Choirs of Chanters exclusively for non-worship events were created. These are set according to European standards, without traditional Psaltic dress (the "rassa"), but with shirts and ties or bow ties. They perform hymns with European-style harmonized isokratema. The leader of the choir, the "chorarchis", becomes a Western-type conductor. He stands in front of the choir members, turning his back to the audience. The Choir no longer has the old shape of the semicircle but looks like a parade or a phalanx. And the most progressive element of all is that psalmody is performed outside the temple, in a hall, a cinema or a theatre, not for prayer and devotional purposes but to promote Byzantine music as a newly discovered artistic genre. So, chanting becomes a "show", for an audience that can sit cross-legged, can be in a playful mood, can even smoke (at least in the past, when smoking was not banned indoors, but also today, if of course it is an outdoor "concert").

But, also within the church, several novel changes have taken place, with the most important being that the chanters' choir has given way to "protopsaltism" (the phenomenon of chanting by only one man). The single chanter, often facing his audience, performs oriental-type non-rhythmic "amanedes" and prides himself on his voice and craftsmanship. The faithful abandon prayer and enjoy only musical pleasure, often paying the chanter with money and sometimes applauding in the temple of Lord. In this way, chanting has also become a "show".

Nowadays, some other more modernistic phenomena enrich the "spectacle". The chanter chants by looking at the camera of his mobile phone or of his electronic tablet and if his hair is disordered, he combs himself, straightening his tie at the same time. He also writes messages thanking his audience watching him from home (from the dining room, maybe from the bedroom, or from elsewhere; dressed or naked); it does not make any difference. In an acrobatic way, the chanter *also* handles the music instrument of electronic ison machine, which is prominently placed on the "sacred" lectern. The well-tuned and well-videotaped performance ("parastasis") will continue, of course, on... Facebook, where the war of "likes" will take place.

Something more: in the last few decades sometimes some "Byzantine oratorios" have been presented every now and then, with great deal of selfishness and an "arrogant" style on behalf of their creators. Every time I hear this expression, I want to cry out in pain to Our Lord. These are musical and musical-theatrical events, inspired by various events in the history of Byzantium or Hellenism, with lyrics of dubious poetic value, and, usually, with a musical dressing based on the psaltic tradition of the Octoechos of low inspiration. These are hybrid teratogenics. They are the results of a poorly-understood musical syncretism, which attempts to marry heterogeneous

objects that always give birth to monsters. Also in this way chanting becomes a “show”.

This is, very briefly, the historical background within which the problems of psalmody in Greek Orthodox Church were born, evolved and shaped. But I stop here. I say nothing more. This is the field of Costis Drygianakis, the Greek pioneer. He has registered many important facts and he has published many original conclusions. I urge you to look for his articles.

III. VARIOUS APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM

We all know well that the general issue of Psaltic Art has different approaches from person to person, from school to school and from science to science.

Amongst these persons, that is, amongst chanters, some will claim that Byzantine music is not only an art for worship, but also an artistic musical genre. Therefore, we can freely intervene in it to produce an ever-evolving and renewed art, and there is no need for inhibitions and taboos for this. Personally, I do not belong to this category of chanters and I oppose such claims openly. The most powerful argument, in my opinion, is that Psaltic Art could be an evolving musical genre if it were merely music without lyrics. But this is not the case. Since its birth psalmody has been based on the most significant Greek Orthodox hymnography, high theological poetry, and it is not used as a musical substratum of divine worship or to fill gaps during this. Greek hymnography is a source of Orthodox theology. It is the poetic literature on which Christian dogma and experience have been formulated. The music of holy psalmody is a means of teaching the Orthodox faith to the members of the worshipping Community. This hymnographical poetry through which the indescribable *Logos* of the Holy Triune God is described, cannot be a toy in the hands and the will of each “artist”, as if he had no other musical expression to deal with in order to feed his artistic appetites. After all, if someone wishes to be inspired by Byzantine and post-Byzantine Psaltic Art, let him do so without devaluing the sacred poems of the holy hymnographers of our Church.

Among Schools, (I mean individual psaltic traditions and local differentiations), approaches vary, in that some are more conservative and ecclesiastical, some are somehow liberal, and others are completely indifferent.

There is an even greater distance between their approaches to Psaltic Art among the three sciences related to it (theology, musicology and anthropology). This is because of the specific cognitive subject of each one. Thus, the musico-anthropologist will say that the Greek Orthodox psaltic tradition is one amongst the innumerable expressions of human civilization. He will argue that he simply follows and records this evolution.

The musico-anthropologist opposes openly anybody who is struggling to preserve and retain the Psaltic Art or to return it to primitive or older forms and stylistic approaches (ie, psaltic “hyphos”) approaches. My response in this direction will be the same as the one the Lord gave to the Sadducees, who did not believe there is resurrection of the dead: “You live in fallacy because you do not know the Scriptures.” Those who have this approach live in fallacy, because they have not understood that for over a thousand years the whole essence of Psaltic Art is based on one single principle: the principle of “imitation”. This “imitation” is not understood in human terms as replication (copy) and theft but is the bone marrow of the Orthodox Faith. “Imitation” in the Psaltic Art is based on St Paul’s apostolic exhortation, “You must become my imitators, as I am an imitator of

Christ". "Imitation" in the area of Orthodox faith goes a long way back, to the night of the Last Supper. Since then, for two thousand years and more, whatever the Church does, this "imitates" what our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the eternal and everlasting Tradition, has given to Church as a legacy on the night of Last Supper. This "imitation" is, in fact, an eternal repetition of the life, the Cross, the Resurrection and the Ascension of the Lord, within a universal human logical worship in a perpetual Pentecost in the Holy Spirit. Given that divine worship is the "imitation" of Christ, every component of this worship "imitates" Christ, and therefore the art of Psalmody as well. Everything else is unnecessary; for believers, everything is vain.

On the other hand, the musicologist's view is totally different. For him, the Psaltic Art is another art of sounds, it is a great creation of the world's cultural heritage and that is why we ought to study, investigate and, above all, promulgate the unique works of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine musical culture. Since however we can no longer chant them within divine worship, because of their length, they are necessarily performed outside the churches, in various non-worship events. Of course, I cannot object to this, but I must remind you that what happens outside divine worship is no longer a "living tradition". It automatically declines to become an object for the museum, a "folk" imitation. To take this further, why does the worship of God take place within the church building? Because the church has been inaugurated. With the triple litany of holy relics around it, the place is sanctified and entrenched against the devil's power in the world and everything within the world. The other places are not inaugurated. Whatever happens in them is exposed to the forces of the Antichrist and vulnerable to passions.

Finally, the theologian usually does not say anything about psalmody, because he considers it is a secondary issue in the Church, and thus he does not deal with it. If you wish for proof of what I claim: you can understand what status the Psaltic Art has in the studies programmes of the four Greek Theological Universities and the four Greek Ecclesiastical Academies. However, the theologians must constantly remind us that the Psaltic Art is primarily and exclusively an art of worship, whose single function is to serve the Holy Mystery for the salvation of the world. Psalmody offers its services through two tools: poetry and melody as a *συναμφότερον* - "synamphoteron" (meaning that these two are one thing inseparably united). Any breakdown of these two is a criminal act. Any partition of the balance between the two, either at the expense of poetry or at the expense of the "melody", is a disturbance of the ancient Greek "metron" (balance). I have also found the word equilibrium; I do not know which is the most appropriate. This balance exists as a royal route within the environment of Orthodox worship. Any attempt to replace Greek Orthodox psalmody with some other style of music is a rupture of the ecclesiastical "seamless robe", which dresses the liturgical arts. Every disruption of the above – strange as it might seem – affects both the Orthodox experience and Orthodox dogma itself. Let us not forget that the Lord Himself and His Apostles chanted at the end of the Last Supper. According to the Gospel testimony, "They chanted and then they went out to the Mount of Olives". In this way, Lord Himself established psalmody as the basic ingredient of Christian worship.

IV. CONCERNS AND QUESTIONS

I come now to the fourth and last unit of this main section of my paper, and I would like to ask you to allow me to point out just a few of the torturous questions that

concern me and many other people, questions which have mentioned at the very beginning, and which I will deal with in this last step. I formulate these questions from the point of view of a theologian, and they are relevant to two aspects of the more general problem: first; non-worship events with Psaltic Art, and second, the spiritual dimensions of psaltic “carelessness” during divine worship.

For non-worship events of Psaltic Art, whether they take place in a church or they are organized in non-ecclesiastical places (in theatres, cinemas, concert halls, outdoors, etc.), three are the key questions that torture and afflict me: *Do non-worship Psaltic performances serve the worship of the Holy Trinity or do they have an egocentric motivation?*

Dear Colleagues, I am not able to answer this question, because I can neither know the hearts of people, nor do I have the gift of reading their minds. However, I am judging myself. Personally, I have never put so much effort into preparing myself for Sunday chanting at the church where I am a Chanter as I have for the most insignificant and small non-worship event. I have never felt such anxiety about my preparing for chanting as I have for my psaltic concerts. I have never been afflicted, and I did not hurt so much because of a big mistake at the analogion, my chanting stand, as because of a small failure in the psaltic choir (elusive and unnoticed by the audience) in a performance. And by undertaking this self-criticism, now that I write these lines, I am thinking: Are my concerts more important than my moments of joining the great Mystery of the Divine Liturgy? Of course not. And then? Then, quite simply, once more my selfishness leads me to decimating the dill and the mint and skimping on the precious and the valuable. And again, I am never able to pray during a concert. In the cases in which I was the protagonist, I had the stress of conducting or a presentation, and when I was a listener, I made it my job to criticize the performance and the performers. So, where was I supposed to find the mental availability and the time for prayer? But it is tragic that neither at my analogion, during services, is it easy for me to pray. So, even if I do not look at the phone when I am chanting, and even if I do not send messages, even if I have no electronic ison machine to play, since I do not pray, I am no better than all those who make all these. Actually, I make a show, as well. I waste my mind and my time in performing the signs of the petaste, etc. I waste my mind and my time in order not to miss the analysis of any sign of the oxeia. I waste my mind and my time trying not to lose any triple tempo in the rhythm. I waste my mind and my time trying not to miss any of the modulations. Thus, by seeing to and making a fuss about many secondary things, I lose the only one essential and necessary: I lose the prayer to Christ, so I lose my salvation.

Next, the following question arises: *Is our Lord well pleased with non-worship activities, or does He dislike them?*

And while I was dealing with this concern, the terrible story came to my attention about what happened to those in the Old Testament (not insignificant persons, but the two sons of Aaron), who, neglecting the commands of God on the offering of incense, took their censers to offer the incense outside the Temple, elsewhere, beyond what the Lord had ordered. Then the fire of God fell and burnt them, leaving only the handles of their censers in order to remind us of God’s wrath when we remove worship from Him and offer it outside the Temple, but to whom? To our deified self, not to say to the devil himself, who directs and “sponsors” our choices.¹

1 See, Leviticus 10: 1. “The two sons of Aaron, and their brethren, said that this fire was come upon them, and they carried it in, and carried it upon them, and brought it before the Lord of hosts, that the Lord commanded it. 2 And it came to pass, even unto the Lord, and he hath rebelled against them, and reproveth the

This kind of reasoning leads to more: *Have the habits and the ethos of non-worship psaltic action influenced the psaltic ethos of the chanter during the act of worship?*

I really do not know. Let us see, what do non-worship performances offer to the chanter's performance? Lights, decent audience (not old ladies who go to the church and do not hear or understand anything), official audiences, complete attention, applause, perhaps money, flattering commentaries on the voice (this would have been even greater if the chanter had wanted to appear in a night club perhaps [and someone, guess who, whispers in his ear: "Oh, no, I'm not talking about a second class club! With such a voice? We are talking about first quality stuff and a lot of money... My poor chanter! You are paid with a few cents and you have an irrelevant boss to interfere with your job, too..."]). And, if you happen to be the choirmaster of the event, you have extra "bonuses": acquaintances, public relations for new concerts, even proposals to get into politics, or municipal elections, or even to become a Mayor.

These are not small baits. Is not that right? And who now gives a penny to hear the Syrian Deacon, the Holy Ephraim... [he is good and holy, let us have his prayers], but what he says cannot be valid in our time, or rather, it only concerns the monks. St Ephraim the Syrian writes:

Where there is psalmody with devoutness, there is God with the Angels. Where there are the songs of the enemy, there is the rage of God... Where there are guitars and dances and applause (clicks of the hands), there is darkness for men, loss for women, the sorrow of the Angels, and the feast of the devil.

Oh, how bad is the mind of the devil! How he puts traps to every man through art, and deceives, and convinces them to do bad things as if they were good ones! Today they chant as God has ordered, and tomorrow they dance zealously as Satan has taught them. Today, they get rid of Satan, and tomorrow they follow him...

My brothers do not live in fallacy... As the Lord Christ has said, no slave can work for two masters; no one can work for God and at the same time for the devil. We have been created by God according to His image, so let us not disgrace His Image... do not chant with angels today and dance with demons the next day. If today you hear the divine scriptures, as a listener who loves God, do not stand listening tomorrow carefully to the guitars as an offender and enemy of Christ. If today you repent of your sins, tomorrow do not start dancing, to be lost...

My brothers, let us not consume the time we have for repentance, the time that God has given us for repentance and salvation...²

As for the spiritual dimensions of psaltic "carelessness" during divine worship, the key questions are at least two:

- What impacts are there when Psaltiki instead of prayer becomes a performance for one person ("one-man show")?
- Does this situation draw the faithful away from the Church and common worship?
- What do the Fathers of the Church have to say on psalmody with a selfishness and secular ethos which does not give birth to prayer?

The dimensions of psaltic "carelessness" or "untidiness" are always personal, but they can often affect the whole, the Church community, the parish, sometimes with strong ecclesiological or soteriological impacts.

Lord."

² Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου, Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ παίζειν Χριστιανούς [Quod ludicris rebus abstinendum sit christianis], Migne P.C. 105. Φραντζολᾶς, Κων/νος, Γ., Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου, Ἔργα, Τόμος Ε' (Θεσσαλονίκη: εκδόσεις «Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας», 1988), 238-250.

On a personal level, “carelessness” and “untidiness” during the sacred Psalmody may be the fruits of the selfishness and of all the passions. They may, as well, be the consequences of the various levels of selfishness, from ridiculous vanity to the highest among the passions, *οἰσις* – “oiesis” (self-conceit).

This situation, whether it comes from the chanter or from the holy clergy, is evident amongst the people of God and is rapidly spread like an infectious disease. In these cases, the parish dissolves, the participation of the faithful is small and without substantial foundations. Only some conscious believers try to fight spiritually within the parish, but they must face scandalous behaviours that make their struggle difficult. These behaviours may become destructive for believers of low spirituality. The worst thing is that these epidemics are easily passed on from teacher to student, from priest to spiritual child, after that, throughout the whole community, from parish to parish, from city to city, from metropolis to metropolis, even from synod to synod ...

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSIONS

But you will say, perhaps, “all these just from Psalmody? Aren’t you exaggerating a little?”

I really do not know. But I am thinking... The work of the Angels in heaven is the glorious and eucharistic psalmody of the Holy Triune God. We know it very well from the visions of the Old Testament Righteous and Prophets and after that from the New Testament Apostles and Saints. Even today we hear this in descriptions from the lips of our modern major Saints. It seems that psalmody will be the only art that will be preserved after the renovation of everything in the Kingdom of the Holy Triune God. Why would it be an exaggeration to think that the role of psalmody is also determinant in Orthodox worship now? Did the Lord himself, in fact, not demand from the New Israel, the Church, to cease the sacrifices of goats and bulls and of the ashes of heifers, and to begin offering “sacrifices of praise”? What kind of “a mercy of peace, a sacrifice of prayer” do we offer to the Lord Jesus Christ when we turn our Psaltic Art into a “show”?

The Holy Spirit gave a dowry to the Church and this is psalmody; the Holy Spirit also gave and appointed to the Church hymnographers, melodists, poets and psaltic composers. Furthermore, the Holy Spirit gave to the Church the chanters. This is us. But we must clean the mind during the time of psalmody. We must make our minds like the minds of infants, in order to become free and send in pure fashion our Psaltic Art to the Lord. Otherwise, we will hear the angry Lord saying: “I hate your celebrations, I repulse them... take away from Me the sound of your odes...”³ “I will turn your feasts into mourning and all of your odes into laments...”⁴

3 Amos, 5: 21, 23.

4 Amos, 8: 10.



THE SOUNDSCAPE OF ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN WORSHIP: REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH ETHICS

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Orthodox Christian worship is a combination of written and oral tradition. Many aspects of a divine service are predetermined by instructions and rubrics, but the people performing the service nevertheless have some freedom in carrying out their task. They are not immune to cultural, historical or ideological influences, and the decisions they make when performing services are related to their background and context.

For example, what we can find in the history of the Orthodox Church of Finland in the twentieth century are efforts to become more culturally independent from the Russian Church. The ideas that were emphasized in all aspects of church life, including worship and church music, were nationality – Finnishness and Karelianness – (*Illustration 1*) as well as transnational Orthodoxy.¹

Nationality in the liturgy of a Church is an example of a topic that can be studied based on evidence found in written sources. However, if we could listen to the actual divine services from past times, it would be an invaluable extra source of information. Of course, it is not possible for us to go and record

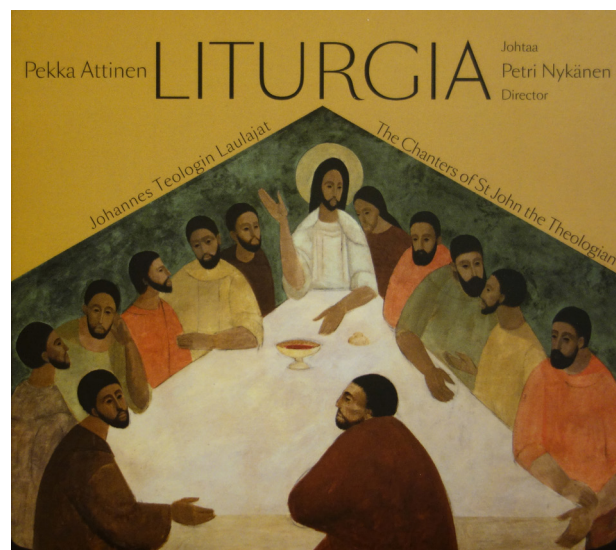


Illustration 1. The Divine Liturgy was first set in the Finnish language by Pekka Attinen in 1936. Recording: Chanters of St John the Theologian (2016), cover design: Leea Wasenius. Photograph: TL

1 E.g. Katariina Husso, *Ikkunoita ikonien ja kirkkoesineiden historiaan. Suomen autonomisen ortodoksisen kirkon esineellinen kulttuuriperintö 1920–1980-luvuilla*, Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 119 (Helsinki, 2011), 190, 198; Wilhelmiina Virolainen, “Suomenkielisen liturgian kehitys,” *Ortodoksia* 52 (2013): 13–15, http://ortodoksia.fi/ojs_3.1/index.php/ortodoksia/article/view/66; Maria Takala-Roszczenko, “The Nationalization of Liturgy in the Orthodox Church of Finland in the 1920s–30s,” *Review of Ecumenical Studies Sibiu* 9, no. 2 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1515/ress-2017-0012>; Hanna Kemppe, “‘Vieras’ ja ‘kansallinen’ ortodoksisessa kirkkotäiteessä 1918–1939,” *Ortodoksia* 58 (2018), http://ortodoksia.fi/ojs_3.1/index.php/ortodoksia/article/view/129.

a service in the past, but why not do that today? Present-day fieldwork allows us to ask questions for which written sources do not have answers. Moreover, today is tomorrow's history; scholars of the twenty-second century may well appreciate the recordings we make now. Despite the obvious advantages of fieldwork, participant observation, interviewing and the use of audio recording technology, this kind of more ethnomusicological approach to researching Orthodox worship is fairly recent.

Orthodox worship is a multisensory experience, with auditory, visual, tactile, olfactory and gustatory elements all present. However, there is a strong emphasis on the sense of hearing. Throughout a service, there are practically always words being read or sung aloud and heard. This enables some of the main purposes of worship: common prayer, as opposed to silent, private prayer, and the sanctification of time. Sounds do not last for a long time, so people must set apart a certain period of time to go to church, to listen or to sing, to pray together. From a cultural stance, short-lived sounds are signs of activity and signs of interaction.² Thus, focusing on sounds is a fruitful way of studying Orthodox worship and its meanings to people.

The term "soundscape", developed from the 1960s onwards,³ can be understood as an auditory counterpart of landscape. Roughly defined it means everything a person can hear in a given place and time. For example, if we were in a university auditorium, and there were a conference presentation going on, what kind of sounds could we hear? Perhaps the hum of air conditioning, some rattling from different electronic devices, someone coughing or a chair creaking, and of course someone speaking at the front. These would be rather typical elements of a conference presentation soundscape.

However, it is important to note that the concept of soundscape includes subjectivity. In our example of a conference presentation, you may imagine that if the person sitting next to you in the auditorium yawns, you both hear it, but it means different things to you. You may be annoyed, or you may be reminded how tired you yourself are after only five hours of sleep, whereas the person yawning may just be bored. The person sitting on the other side of your yawning neighbour may not have heard anything, because they are preparing their own presentation, due the next day, so intently that they would only hear a fire alarm. Thus, the soundscapes of two people in the same place at the same time will never be identical.

WHAT, WHY, AND HOW: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS

My research concerns the soundscapes of Orthodox worship. What would I like to find out about them? I have divided the preliminary topics of interest into three rather broad groups.

As a background, I would like to gain some overall knowledge of the elements comprising the soundscape of worship. What are the common denominators, and what kind of local variation is there for example in the singing repertoire, its use, and other auditory elements?

Second, how are the varying soundscapes experienced by the participants in the worship? What do people hear? What would they like to hear, what do they expect to

2 See e.g. Noora Vikman, "Alussa oli askel – katsaus kuuntelukävelyn ympäristökulttuurin tutkimuksen metodina," in *Vaeltavat metodit*, ed. Jyrki Pöysä, Helmi Järviluoma, and Sinikka Vakimo (Joensuu: Suomen Kansantietouden Tutkijain Seura, 2010), 194.

3 Jonathan Sterne, "Soundscape, Landscape, Escape," in *Soundscapes of the Urban Past. Staged Sound as Mediated Cultural Heritage*, ed. Karin Bijsterveld. (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 184–7, <http://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/31458>.

hear? What kind of meanings do they give to different elements of the soundscape, how do they interpret them?

Finally, in what kind of contexts are the soundscapes produced and experienced? Who makes the decisions involved in shaping the soundscape of a given service, and on what grounds? Are there ideals or other influences to be traced?

Why should we study these questions? Very briefly put: the present reality of Orthodox worship is understudied. Scholars around the world have started to take an ethnomusicological approach to Orthodox church music,⁴ but in Finland only sporadic observations of church music repertoire and liturgical practices have been published.⁵ Knowledge of how people experience worship is likewise scant. Studies taking a sensory approach have so far been mostly historical.⁶

Orthodoxy in Finland is especially interesting for a number of reasons, one of which is the growing multiculturalism of parishes. Orthodox Christians living in Finland, independent of their background, go mainly to the same churches and attend the same services together. The change in parish life because of increased immigration in the past decades can be heard in worship, too. Often several languages, or music from different musical traditions, can be heard within a single service. This is an interesting form of transnationality that challenges the nationalization processes of the twentieth century.⁷

How, then, can we study these preliminary topics or questions? My choice has been ethnographical work in Orthodox parishes in Finland.⁸ I participate in their worship and other activities, making observations, talking with people, and interviewing them. I also make audio recordings of services. I aim to visit all 21 parishes of the Orthodox Church of Finland. As it is a small church, with 60 000 members (*Illustration 2*), the task is not overwhelming. I spend two or three weeks in each parish, in which time there are about ten–fifteen services in a parish. I conduct semi-structured interviews with different kinds of participants of worship: congregation members, singers, cantors, priests. I hope to interview altogether about 25 people from different parts of Finland, different ages, and different cultural backgrounds.

4 E.g. Jeffers Engelhardt, "Right Singing in Estonian Orthodox Christianity: A Study of Music, Theology, and Religious Ideology," *Ethnomusicology* 53, no. 1 (2009); Costin Moisil, "'You have to sing them correctly!' Notation and Performance in Cunțană Chant", *Musicology Today* 19 (2014), <http://www.musicologytoday.ro/BackIssues/Nr.19/studies1.php>.

5 E.g. Jopi Harri, "Suomen ortodoksien kirkon vakiintuneen sävelmärepertuaarin tausta," *Ortodoksia* 52 (2013): 22, http://ortodoksia.fi/ojs_3.1/index.php/ortodoksia/article/view/67; Johan Bastubacka, "Congregational Singing in the Finnish Orthodox Divine Liturgy: Contemporary Orthodox Liturgical Praxis – its Origins and Effect on Worship," *Anaphora* 9, no. 1 (2015): 18–19; Damaskinos Olkinuora, "Ecumenism in Liturgy? Changes in Finnish Orthodox Liturgical Texts Stimulated by Co-Existence with Lutherans," *Review of Ecumenical Studies Sibiu* 9, no. 2 (2017): 175, <https://doi.org/10.1515/ress-2017-0013>; Jopi Harri, "Contemporary Practices of Church Singing at the Valaam Monastery in Heinävesi," *Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music* 4, no. 2 (November 2020), <https://journal.fi/jisocm/issue/view/6949>.

6 E.g. Alexander Lingas, "From Earth to Heaven. The Changing Musical Soundscape of Byzantine Liturgy," in *Experiencing Byzantium*, ed. Claire Nesbitt and Mark Jackson, The Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications 18 (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013); Bissera V. Pentcheva, "Performing the Sacred in Byzantium. Image, breath and sound," *Performance Research* 19, no. 3 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.1080/13528165.2014.935185>.

7 Similar phenomena may have different reasons and can be studied from different angles. Cf. Peter Drobac, "The Problem of Pastiche, part I," 11–13, and Aaron Eldridge, "The Problem of Pastiche, part II," 14, 16, in *Liturgy and Music. Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Orthodox Church Music*, ed. Ivan Moody and Maria Takala-Roszczenko, Publications of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music No. 8 (Joensuu, 2019).

8 Ethnography is well suited to elaborate on a set of questions ranging from the elements of the actual services to the experiences and interpretations of people attending them, for it allows me to acquire a combination of different kinds of research material. For an ethnography of Orthodox liturgy in Finland, see Tatiana Tiaynen-Qadir, "Glocal Religion and Feeling at Home: Ethnography of Artistry in Finnish Orthodox Liturgy," *Religions* 8, no. 2 (2017): 23, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel8020023>.

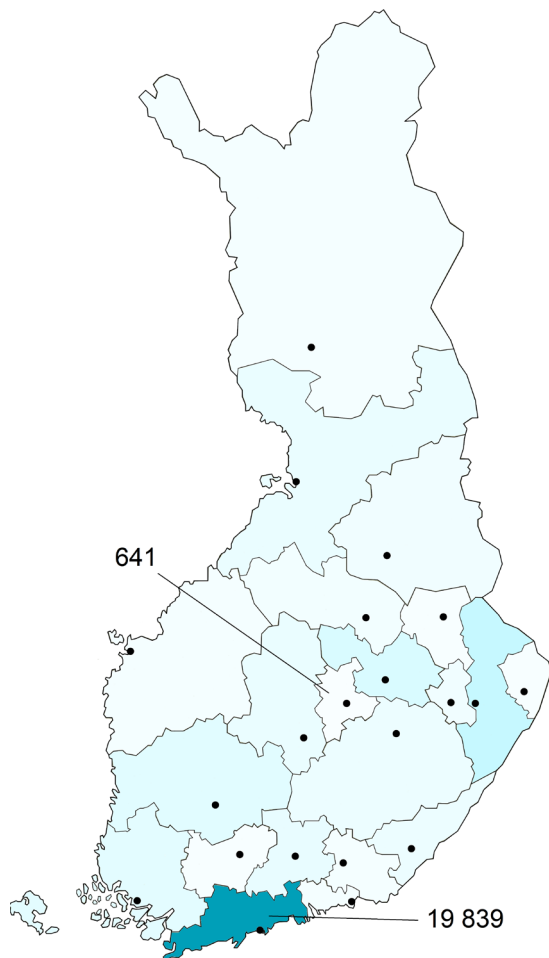


Illustration 2. Parishes of the Orthodox church of Finland, their centres and sizes (in 2019). The intensity of the blue colour denotes the number of members of the parishes in relation to one another. The sizes of the largest and smallest parish are given in numbers. TL

After this study, the recordings I make will be archived at the Finnish Literature Society.⁹ Although Orthodox Christianity has a long history in Finland, very few recordings of Orthodox worship have been archived permanently, and there is still no consistent recording of services.¹⁰ This new audio archive collection will serve future scholars as a source of research material as well as document cultural practices related to Finnish Orthodoxy.¹¹

During the first eight months of fieldwork (October 2018–June 2019) I visited eleven parishes, attended 133 services, of which I recorded 120, attended 22 choir rehearsals and other choir related events, had 36 people volunteer for interviews, and conducted twelve interviews. I have a great deal of research material, which means a great deal of work. It has been very demanding in simple terms of time and energy, and it has been tremendously rewarding. So far, I have had no trouble in finding interviewees, but priests and cantors do not seem to be the first ones to volunteer. I have had some minor technical issues but nothing disastrous, which is quite surprising.

9 The archive (<https://www.finlit.fi/en/archive/joensuu-branch-collections>) is located conveniently next door to the School of Theology, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu. The recordings can also be accessed electronically in the Helsinki premises of the archive.

10 Recordings of individual services can be found in the Folklife archives of the University of Tampere (<https://sites.tuni.fi/kansanperinne/folklife-archives/>), the Archives of the Turku University School of Cultural Research (<http://kultut-arkistot.utu.fi/english/indexenglish.html>) (Archives of History, Culture and Arts Studies (<https://www.utu.fi/fi/yliopisto/humanistinen-tiedekunta/hkt-arkisto>), HKT archive, TKU collection), and RIISA – Orthodox Church Museum of Finland (<http://www.riisa.fi/en/home/>). Recordings of some of the services broadcast on radio and television, with recent decades strongly emphasized, reside in the Radio and Television Archive (<https://kavi.fi/en/radio-and-television-archive/>). This collection, while very valuable, does not represent perfectly the ordinary liturgical life of parishes, for the broadcast services are usually prepared for in an exceptional way.

11 This work has not been systematic so far. In 2014, the central synod of the Orthodox Church of Finland accepted a Cultural Heritage Strategy that mentions liturgical life and church music as intangible culture heritage of the Church, but action was explicitly required as late as in November 2019, when the synod determined that the Church must systematically catalogue, digitize and archive divine services, interviews, and church music. “Kulttuuriperintöstrategia 2015–2020,” Viralliset asiakirjat, Hallinto ja päätöksenteko, Orthodox Church of Finland, 2014, <https://www.ort.fi/suomen-ortodoksisen-kirkon-toimintaa-ohjaavat-asiakirjat/kulttuuriperintöstrategia-2015-2020>; “Pöytäkirja, Suomen ortodoksisen kirkon kirkolliskokous,” Kirkolliskokous, Hallinto ja päätöksenteko, Orthodox Church of Finland, 2019, 42, <https://www.ort.fi/sites/default/files/2020-01/P%3%B6yt%C3%A4kirja%202019.pdf>.

METHODOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL QUESTIONS

The questions that concern me most at this stage of my research are questions of methodology and research ethics. If this were the most traditional kind of ethnography, I would have chosen two or three parishes and spent several months in each of them. Instead, I have opted for a more applied research design, collecting material from a larger area, and consequently spending less time in each place.

This decision has much to do with work like this not having been done before. Anyone who has visited two or three parishes in Finland can tell us that the services sound different in different places. But what is the extent and quality of this local variation? Are the different histories of parishes reflected in the ways that different members of those parishes experience worship? Given the lack of systematic prior research, it is useful to gain some basic knowledge of “what is out there”. Thus, I consider the field of my study to be the whole Orthodox Church of Finland, a fluid field, with more or less variation between the local communities that are parishes.

Some of the most problematic ethical questions of my study concern insider research and participant observation, especially in worship.

INSIDER ETHNOGRAPHY

I am a long-time member of the community I study, the Orthodox Church of Finland. I have grown to know five parishes quite closely – my own home parishes – and visited most others, some on a regular basis. I am also a trained church musician and a former cantor of a parish.

As a result of my background, I know nearly all cantors working in parishes, and a great many of the priests. Good networks among the employees of parishes, as well as practical knowledge of the everyday of their work, naturally help in gaining access to the field. An insider knows the language used by the community members, and thus may get at their own interpretations more easily. I may be able to spot exceptional phenomena more quickly, for example, deviations from the books the performers of services are using – or at least claim to be using. It is also easy for me to share the results and benefits of my research with the community researched.

There are also obvious challenges in insider ethnography. Can I hear the familiar with new ears? Can I trace all my assumptions, preconceptions and biases and handle them in an open and honest manner? Can I ethically balance the privacy of certain conversations and the interest of the information I get from them? When I present my results, will there be conflicts of loyalty?

I also have to be aware of my different roles in the field, or rather, the different ways in which people position me, and I position myself.¹² I have known some of the people I meet in the field for a long time; for example, I may have sung in their choir or they may have sung in my choir. And, as these circles are small, someone may have heard something about me without my knowing it. As a church musician I am often expected to have views about how worship should be conducted or what kind of music should be used, while, as a researcher, it is problematic to take part in these conversations. I have been asked after a service I recorded, by one of the performers, in a slightly worried tone: “How did it go?” These situations require diplomacy and self-control that I must admit I do not always feel I can evince satisfactorily.

12 Bronwyn Davies and Rom Harré, “Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves,” in *Discourse Theory and Practice. A Reader*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008), 261; Michael Murphy, “What does it mean to take a position? Researchers and the researched”, *Social Theory Applied*, July 9, 2014, <https://socialtheoryapplied.com/2014/07/09/mean-take-position-researchers-researched/>.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation has many inherent ethical questions. When one observes public events and spaces, it is often not possible to ask for the informed consent of every individual being observed.¹³ This is true here as well, as the people among whom I do this research number thousands. Asking only the blessing of the bishop and the priest will unavoidably lead to situations in which, no matter in how many ways I try to inform the parishioners about my research and fieldwork, someone goes to their own church to attend a divine service and – to their great surprise – becomes a participant of my study, whether they want it or not.

Services are open to all, but are they in fact completely public? One could well ask whether placing microphones in church and writing down notes during a service does not cause unease and discomfort to the people attending the service.¹⁴ Especially in the Finnish context, where many people consider religion a rather private matter, observing people in worship may evoke suspicion.¹⁵

What about outside the liturgical context: before and after a service, at coffee hour, in other activities of the parish? When I am not visibly recording or interviewing, I often doubt that people realize I am there as a researcher making observations.¹⁶ This is partly related to being an insider, because in many places and situations people position me firstly as something other than a researcher.

There are also other intriguing ways in which these two ethical questions intertwine. In participant observation, the degree of participation chosen for the study reflects the research questions and the research design.¹⁷ A researcher who is an insider may sometimes want to participate to a higher degree than her research plan suggests. Participant observation becomes observant participation,¹⁸ and if all participation becomes observant participation, the researcher may find herself in trouble with research and other aspects of life commingling.

There are several ways in which I try to solve or mitigate these problems. I use all opportunities to speak and write about my research, emphasizing that the recordings will not be published online,¹⁹ and also highlighting the advantages and potential advantages of the study to the local community, the parish, the church, and the society. I use recording methods as unobtrusive as possible: audio and a few photographs,

13 Giampietro Gobo, *Doing Ethnography*, trans. Adrian Belton (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008), 140. For discussion about informed consent see e.g. Marilys Guillemin and Lynn Gillam, "Ethics, Reflexivity, and 'Ethically Important Moments' in Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 10, no. 2 (2004), 271–2, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800403262360>.

14 In qualitative research, the harm caused to the participants that must be avoided may be very subtle, such as an uncomfortable feeling. Guillemin and Gillam, "Ethics, Reflexivity, and 'Ethically Important Moments' in Research," 272–3; Ron Iphofen, *Research Ethics in Ethnography/Anthropology* (European Commission), 23–4, http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/other/hi/ethics-guide-ethnog-anthrop_en.pdf.

15 Iphofen, *Research Ethics in Ethnography/Anthropology*, 47. Spaces neither completely public nor completely private can be called semi-public spaces (e.g. Melike Peterson, "Living with difference in hyper-diverse areas: how important are encounters in semi-public spaces?" *Social & Cultural Geography* 18, no. 8 (2017): 1070–1, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2016.1210667>) or "micropublics" (Ash Amin, "Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity," *Environment and Planning A* 34, no. 6 (June 2002): 969, <https://doi.org/10.1068/a3537>).

16 Cf. Iphofen, *Research Ethics in Ethnography/Anthropology*, 47. I do not attempt to hide that I am a researcher, but I cannot advertise it constantly either. As is well-known in ethnography, this would be rather counterproductive. For the so-called Hawthorne effect, see e.g. Gobo, *Doing Ethnography*, 124–5, 134 (footnote 2), 206; Iphofen, *Research Ethics in Ethnography/Anthropology*, 20, 22.

17 Gobo, *Doing Ethnography*, 105–6.

18 E.g. Carolyn Sufrin, "'Doctor, Why Didn't You Adopt My Baby?' Observant Participation, Care, and the Simultaneous Practice of Medicine and Anthropology," *Culture, Medicine & Psychiatry* 39, no. 4 (2015): 621–2, 627–8, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11013-015-9435-x>.

19 People mostly associate audio recording in church with either radio broadcasting, live streaming or sharing on social media. Although the archival material will be openly available to all, access to it requires physical presence and thus considerably more effort than in the case of online material.

and the latter only of the people performing the services, not of the congregation. I also thank people all the time and profusely. They may not have had a direct say in my being there, but as a community they produce my research material,²⁰ and even though I may juridically own the material I collect, morally I feel I am only borrowing it from them. Finally, I limit my research to parishes, which secures me some places where I can attend services without feeling I should be writing everything down, such as the Orthodox seminary church.

This paper is a brief introduction to my doctoral research project in the midst of its long fieldwork phase. In summer 2020, I still have some parishes left to visit. The past months have not enabled travelling to do fieldwork, but new ways of experiencing – or not experiencing – services have emerged and given many of us novel insights into the sensory in Orthodox worship.

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²⁰ I naturally have a central role in producing the research material, which I am not trying to hide. Acknowledging and treating myself as a visible (or audible) part of the whole research process is an important question that also has an ethical aspect to it, but it is a question I must address with due attention in another occasion.

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ELEMENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOW THE GREAT DOXOLOGIES WERE SUNG FROM THE 18TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY

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1 INTRODUCTION

It is known that in the early nineteenth century in Constantinople, the “Three Teachers”¹ were protagonists of a musical reformation of the so-called “Byzantine Music”. A new notational system – called “The New Method” – was established, through which the intervals of the melodies and the time expressed in beats were well defined. At the same time, chanters of that era observed that the melody of a given old piece known through oral tradition had many more notes than those indicated by the interval signs² of the previous notational system, known as “The Old Method”. Since they believed that the hymns had always the same melody, they were led to the conclusion that the old notational system was diachronically stenographic.

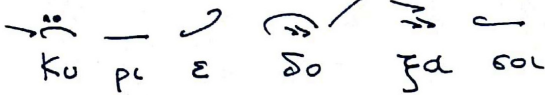
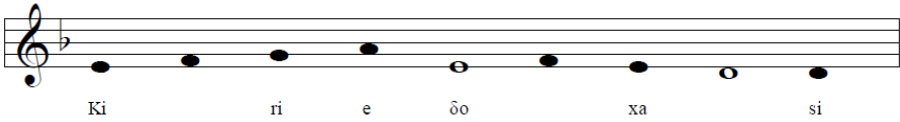
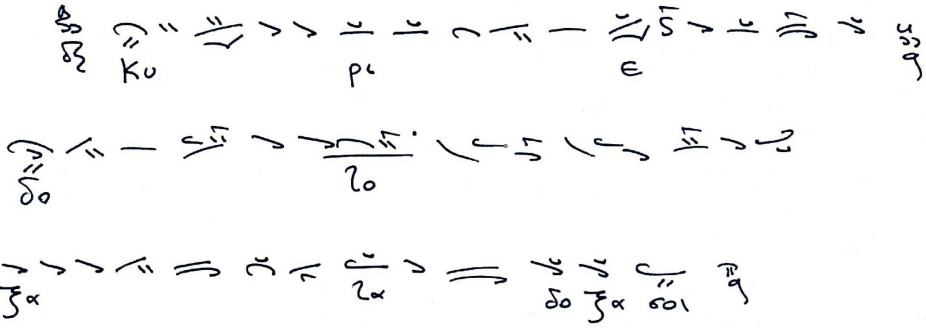


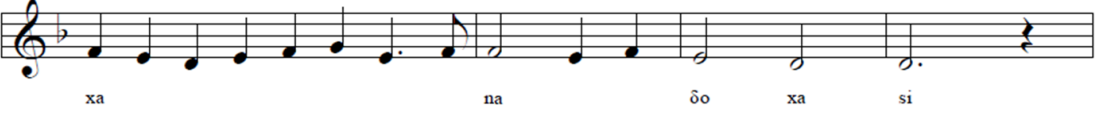
The New Method reformation was closely connected to the process of *exegesis*, which literally means “interpretation”. Through this process, a nineteenth century *exegetes* (i.e. interpreter), using the new notational system, wrote down the way in which the chanters of his era used to perform compositions notated in the old

1 Chrysanthos Bishop of Madyta (appr. 1770-1846), Gregorios the Protosaltis (1778-1821), Chourmouziou Chartofylax (appr. 1765-1840).

2 The signs of the Old Notation are classified in two main categories: the interval signs (*φωνητικά σημάδια*) and the subsidiary signs (*άφωνα* or *μεγάλες υποστάσεις* or *χειρονομίες*). The former indicated the melodic contour in a relative way, while the latter were responsible for extra musical information, the exact meaning of each of which remains obscure.

system. The result of this process – also called *exegesis* – can help us to see clearly the contrast regarding the number of notes indicated by the two systems (see Ex. 1).

EXAMPLE 1: The end-phrase of the sticheron of Triodion “Θαυμαστή τοῦ Σωτήρος” notated in the Old Method and its *exegesis* in the New Method

Old Method NLG 884 f. 272v, 1341	
	
	
New Method Chourmouziou, NLG-MPT 715, ff. 103v-104r (19th c.)	
	
	
	
	

The belief of the invariability of Byzantine melodies is implied by Chrysanthos in his theoretical treatise³, while Constantinos Psachos⁴ and later Gregorios Stathis⁵ developed and transformed this idea into a scientific position. Since the term *exegesis* was widely used by post-Byzantine composers from the seventeenth century onwards, these scholars claimed that this term had diachronically the very same meaning as a process of transcribing a single invariable melody in a more analytical way.

Great Doxologies form a group of compositions that belong to the papadic genre. Their current compositional style was established in the early seventeenth century by Melchizedek, Bishop of Raidestos.⁶ Until the New Method era, many Great Doxologies were composed by various chanters, who wrote them down in the old system. Some of them were “interpreted” in the new system by various *exegetes*.

According to the previous position, the melody indicated by the *exeges* of the old Doxologies should be identical to their original melody, which would remain unchanged. In order to examine this theory, we compared two old Doxologies recorded in Partes notation⁷ in the mid-eighteenth century (coming from Sinai 1477), with their nineteenth century *exeges* in the New Method. Their melody should be identical. Surprisingly, we observed that the two versions of both the Doxologies show marked differences. Furthermore, we observed that even other old Doxologies, when transcribed by different nineteenth century *exegetes*, show notable differences, particularly regarding the time duration of syllables and ornamentation.

These observations led us to the general suspicion that the interpretation of the old notation was evolved through time and acquired more than one possible variations. In our research, we attempt to examine thoroughly these observations in order to interpret the *ambiguity* of the Old Method in the early nineteenth century, focusing exclusively to the development of how the Great Doxologies were sung from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century.

3 “Ecclesiastical musicians [...] composed theses of musical neumes in order to write the synopsis of the piece to be chanted and deliver methodically their work to their students. [...] If one wishes to understand the *melos* written in the fifteen neumes mentioned and the *hypostaseis* enumerated, he may accomplish this by comparison.” Χρυσανθος, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής* (Trieste: Michele Weis, 1832), 1st Part, §400: “So, today music is offered to music lovers as it was initiated by Ioannes Damascenos and improved up to our days. It preserves the first and ancient mele but approaches also the more recent mele; it applies among the old neumes those that are efficient, but has also acquired some new neumes, that were necessary. So, what is it, old or new? It is neither old or new. It is one and the same perfected in the course of time.” *Ibid.*, 2nd Part, §81.

4 “[Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music,] the beginning of which dates back to the times of the Apostles, and which reached its highest degree of perfection during Byzantine times, was preserved unchanged until our time, through the occasional analyses and exeges of its stenographic notational system.” Κωνσταντίνος Ψάχος, *Η παρασημαντική της Βυζαντινής μουσικής* (Athens: Σακελαρίου, 1917), 236.

5 “The original - old - notation is a method that combines optical and sound symbols with memorized melodies. You see a graphical-optical presentation and you must “interpret” and sing what the presentation indicates. You need many phonetic signs [of The New Method] in order to write down the melody you sing by using the old notation. The melody is exactly the same; it remains unchanged. What is changed is the garment [i.e. how it is presented].” Γρηγόριος Στάθης, *Ερωταποκρίσεις και Ακριβολογήματα της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης εν έτει σωτηρίω, βιβ’* (Athens: Ίδρυμα Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας, 2015), 66-7. See also Γρηγόριος Στάθης, *Τα Πρωτόγραφα της Εξηγήσεως εις την Νέαν Μέθοδον Σημειογραφίας* (Athens: Ίδρυμα Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας, 2016), 122.

6 See Γρηγόριος Στάθης, *Μορφές και Μορφές της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης* (Athens: Ίδρυμα Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας, 2011), 42. For further information about the Great Doxologies tradition, see Δημήτριος Μπαλαγεώργος, “Η πρωτοφανέρωση του μέλους της Μεγάλης Δοξολογίας στις χειρόγραφες πηγές του ιδ’ αι.”, in *Συμβολή στη μνήμη Γεωργίου Στ. Αμαργιανάκη (1936-2003)*, ed. University of Athens (Athens, 2013), 110-28.

7 *Partes* is an eighteenth-century five-line notation used in Russia for writing down polyphonic partes church music.

2 OUR SAMPLE

Old Great Doxologies transcribed in the New Method by various *exegetes* or recorded in *partes* notation in the eighteenth century, make up the corpus from which we took our sample. In particular, we compare different nineteenth century *exeges* of four old Doxologies, and then we compare the nineteenth century *exeges* of two other Doxologies with their mid-eighteenth century versions (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: Our sample of six old Doxologies and their versions on which we based our analysis

	<i>composer</i>	<i>mode</i>	<i>version of...</i>	<i>MS</i>
19 th c. variations	Germanos bishop of New Patras	1st [plagal]	Ioasaf Dionysiates (?)	Dion. 680, ff. 235v-238v
			Nikolaos Docheiarites	Doch. 360, ff. 423v-428r
			Chourmouzos Chartofylax	NLG-MPT 704, ff. 237r-238r
	Balases the Priest	4th	Ioasaf Dionysiates (?)	Dion. 681, ff. 278r-283r
			Nikolaos Docheiarites	Doch. 360, ff. 418r-423v
			Chourmouzos Chartofylax	NLG-MPT 704, ff. 244r-245v
	varys	Gregorios Protopsalt	BKX 175, ff. 93r-96v	
		Chourmouzos Chartofylax	NLG-MPT 704, ff. 250v-251v	
	Petros Bereketes	1st [plagal]	Nikolaos Docheiarites	Doch. 360, ff. 405r-411v
			Gregorios Protopsalt	NLG-MPT 744, ff. 136v-139r
			Chourmouzos Chartofylax	NLG-MPT 712, ff. 45v-47r
19 th c. vs 18 th c.	Melchizedek bishop of Raides-tos	1st plagal	Chourmouzos Chartofylax (19 th c.)	NLG-MPT 704, ff. 229r-230r
			Unknown (mid-18 th c.)	Sinai 1477, ff. 84r-88r
	Panayiotes Chrysaphes	4th plagal	Chourmouzos Chartofylax (19 th c.)	NLG-MPT 704, ff. 231r-232r
			Unknown (mid-18 th c.)	Sinai 1477, ff. 88r-90r

3 THE VORLAGE ISSUE

Embarking on our research, the first question we had to deal with was whether the differences between the various versions of each Doxology are due to the usage of a different *Vorlage*⁸ by the *exegetes*. Hence, we checked at least five manuscripts of each of the six Doxologies.

On the one hand, we observed that all the copies of each Doxology are almost identical regarding the Interval signs, i.e. their melodic skeleton (*metrophonia*). On the other hand, we noticed some differences regarding the use of the subsidiary signs: In the various Mss, a given intervallic figure would be accompanied with either different subsidiary signs or the same subsidiary sign but with different a colour (red instead of black and vice versa) or no subsidiary sign. Nevertheless, our general impression is that the flexibility in the use of the subsidiary signs does not correspond to the differences between the various versions of Doxologies (see Exx. 2 and 3). The entire subject needs further, more systematic research.

EXAMPLE 2: The first part of the 1st verse of the Bereketes' Doxology, notated in the Old Notation (10 MSS) and its exegesis by three various exegetes. (Note that Doch. 341 is written by Docheiarites himself.)

Old Method	
	<p>NLG 893, f. 133v. 894, f. 228r. 921, f. 50v. 925, f. 33r. 926, f. 63r. 971, p. 273. Doch. 341, f. 167r</p>
	<p>NLG 936, f. 109r</p>
	<p>NLG 2216, f. 93v</p>
	<p>NLG 2301, p. 149</p>

8 *Vorlage* is a technical term that refers to the original manuscript on which a scribe based his copy.

	<p>NLG 926, f. 64v</p>
	<p>NLG 936, f. 111v 2216, f. 95v</p>
	<p>NLG 925, f. 34v</p>
	<p>NLG 971, p. 154</p>
<p>New Method</p>	
	<p>Gregorios NLG-MPT 744, f. 138v</p>
	<p>Chourmouziou NLG-MPT 712, f. 45v</p>
	<p>Docheiarites Doch. 360, f. 408v</p>

4 NINETEENTH-CENTURY VARIATIONS

When we compare the *exeges* of the nineteenth century, we observe three main types of variation: a) addition of extra melismata, b) different starting points of neumatization, and c) differences concerning the distribution of the beats per syllable (*texture*). We shall now analyse each type of variation separately.

4.1. EXTRA MELISMATA

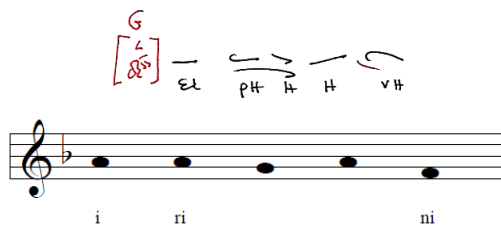

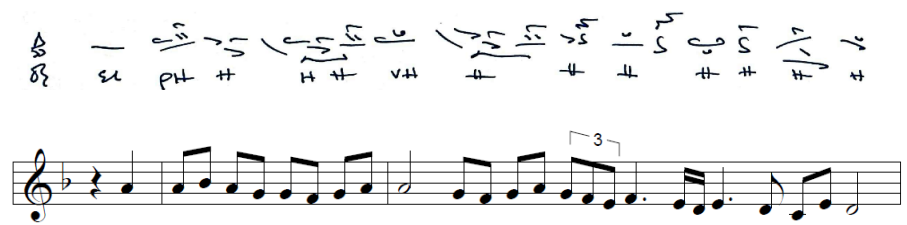
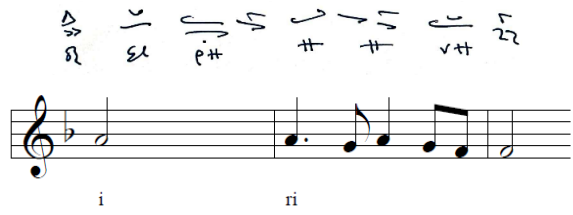
In some cases, we see that *exegetes* from Athos add melismata at the end of some phrases with no interval signs to suggest this.⁹ What is even more striking is that when Dochiareites, who added extra melismata at the end of some phrases, uses the Old method to record the same Doxology, does not indicate any of these extra

⁹ One could argue that some specific cadential subsidiary signs (such as *apoderma* or *kratema*) are responsible for these extra melismata. The point is that the exegetes do not add extra melisma every time they see such a sign, and this is precisely what illustrates the ambiguity the old notation had at that time.

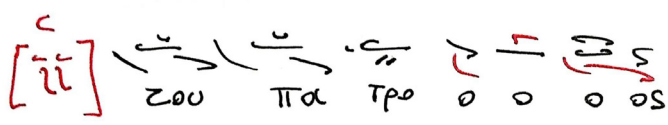
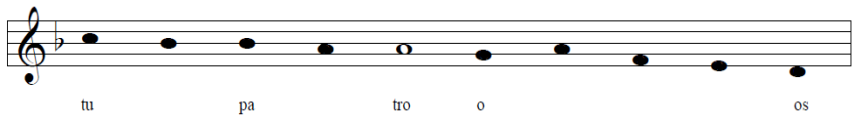
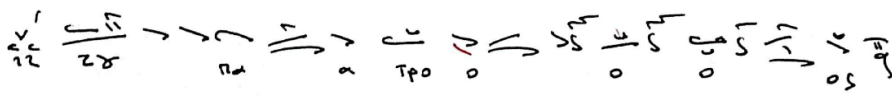

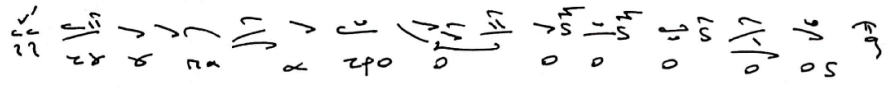

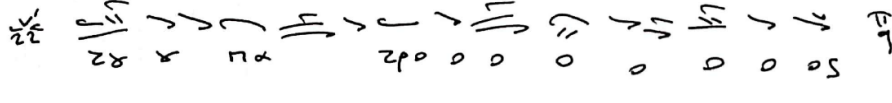
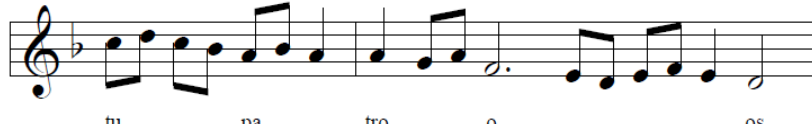
melismata (see Ex. 2 and 4). Therefore, we can see clearly that we are not dealing with *Vorlage*. A further observation is that *exegetes* often use as extra melismata cadential phrases that are indicated through the interval signs in other parts of the composition (see Ex. 4).

EXAMPLE 4: The third part of the 1st verse and the penultimate part of the 5th verse of the Germanos' Doxology notated in the Old Notation and their *exegetes* by three various exegetes. (You can see that the extra melisma added at the 1st verse by both Athonite exegetes, is similar to a cadential phrase found in the middle of the 5th verse of the original composition.)

A.

Old Method	
 <p style="text-align: center;">i ri ni</p>	<p><i>Doch. 341,</i> <i>f. 188v</i></p>
New Method	
 <p style="text-align: center;">i ri ni i i</p>	<p>Ioasaf <i>Dion. 680,</i> <i>f. 236r</i></p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">i ri ni i i</p>	<p>Docheiarites <i>Doch. 360,</i> <i>f. 423v</i></p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">i ri</p>	<p>Chourmouzios <i>NLG-MPT 704,</i> <i>f. 237r</i></p>

B.

Old Method	
 	<p><i>Doch. 341,</i> <i>f. 194r</i></p>
New Method	
 	<p>Ioasaf <i>Dion. 680,</i> <i>f. 236v</i></p>
 	<p>Docheiarites <i>Doch. 360,</i> <i>f. 424v-425r</i></p>
 	<p>Chourmouzos <i>NLG-MPT 704,</i> <i>f. 237v</i></p>

4.2 STARTING NEUMATIZATION AT DIFFERENT POINTS

The melody of a verse can be morphologically divided into a number of individual phrases. On many occasions, the initial part of a melodic phrase is *syllabic* (a beat per syllable) while the rest part is *neumatic* (two-four beats per syllable). We observed that very often the various *exegetes* start their neumatization at different points of a given phrase.

In order to deal with this, we split the various *exeges* of the Doxologies into phrases. We then juxtaposed each phrase of each *exegesis* and compared them by two. Finally, we counted the number of times the starting points of neumatization coincided (see Table 2). The deviation between the various *exeges* suggests that there is no exact indication in the Old Notation for starting neumatization. *Exegetes* choose their starting point intuitively and subjectively.

TABLE 2: The percentage of phrases per exegesis of each old Doxology, of which the starting point of neumatization coincides. Here we have highlighted the comparisons that showed a percentage of coincidence lower than 70%. It is impressive that Gregorios' and Chourmouzios' exegeses of Balases' Doxology in varys mode show a 65.9% deviation.

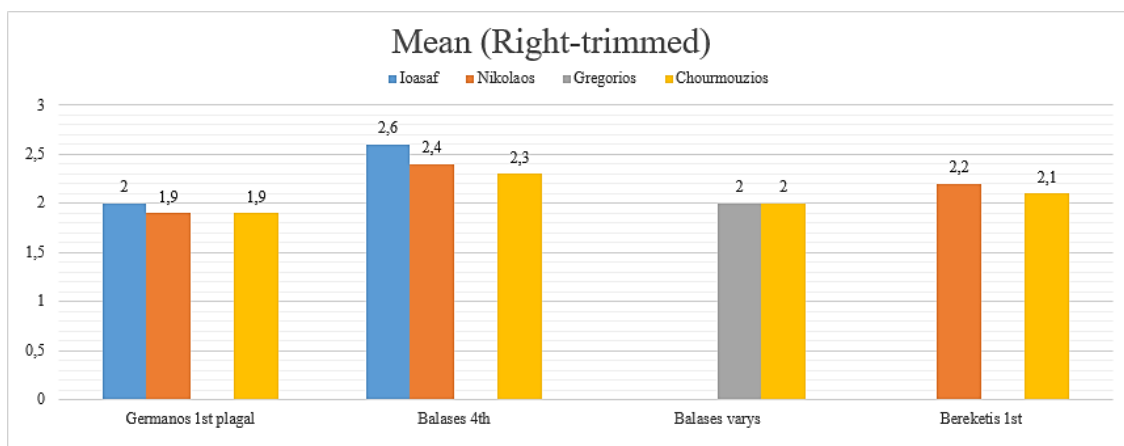
Germanos, 1st [plagal] mode	
Ioasaf - Docheiarites	59/69 (85.5 %)
Ioasaf - Chourmouzios	48/69 (69.6%)
Docheiarites - Chourmouzios	53/69 (76.8%)
Balases, 4th mode	
Ioasaf - Docheiarites	56/70 (80.0 %)
Ioasaf - Chourmouzios	56/70 (80.0 %)
Docheiarites - Chourmouzios	65/70 (92.9%)
Balases, varys mode	
Gregorios - Chourmouzios	30/68 (44.1 %)
Bereketes, 1st [plagal] mode	
Gregorios - Chourmouzios	35/73 (47.9 %)
Gregorios - Docheiarites	45/73 (61.6%)
Docheiarites - Chourmouzios	61/73 (83.6%)

4.3 DIFFERENT TEXTURE

The third type of variation is found in the texture of the Doxologies' *exegeses*; that is the ratio of beats per syllable. For the purposes of our project, we compared the texture of various *exegeses* of the same Doxology in both a general and a more specific way. We excluded from our examination the final syllable of each phrase of all the *exegeses*. This was necessary firstly to be able to examine the *exegeses* without any extra melismata, and secondly because *exegetes* often determine the duration of the final syllable without taking into consideration the rhythmic context of the phrases.

Our general comparison was based on the two well-known statistical methods, ANOVA and T-test, through which we concluded that the differences between the general textures of the various *exegeses* are not statistically significant. As may be seen in Table 3, the average ratio for all the *exegetes* is about two beats per syllable. That means that all the *exegetes* consider old Doxologies having a general *neumatic* character clearly distinct from that of the *syllabic* Doxologies (usually called *syntomes*, i.e. short) composed in their time.

TABLE 3: The average ratio of beats per syllable for each old Doxology according to the various *exegeses*



Furthermore, we estimated the similarity of the texture of the various *exeges* in a more specific way. In particular, we firstly counted the duration (i.e. the number of beats) of each syllable of a given *exegesis*. Then, we juxtaposed our results with the syllable duration of another *exegesis* of the same Doxology. Finally, we counted how many syllables share the same duration (see Ex. 5).

EXAMPLE 5: The process of estimating in a more specific way the similarity of texture between the Gregorios' and Docheiarites' *exegesis* of the 1st phrase of the 1st verse of Bereketes' Doxology

Gregorios = [1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2]
 Nikolaos = [1, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 10]

3 different syllables to 9

As may be seen in Table 4, the percentage of similarity shown is between 72-90% in all cases. The minimum 10% of differentiation indicates that *exegetes* are to a small extent based on their intuition and subjectivity in order to give specific duration to the old signs or group of signs.

TABLE 4: The percentage of syllables per *exegesis* of each old Doxology (except the final syllables of phrases), of which the number of beats coincides

Germanos, 1st [plagal] mode	
Ioasaf - Docheiarites	367/419 (87.6%)
Ioasaf - Chourmouzios	338/419 (80.7%)
Docheiarites - Chourmouzios	347/419 (82.8%)
Balases, 4 th mode	
Ioasaf - Docheiarites	349/418 (83.5%)
Ioasaf - Chourmouzios	344/418 (82.3%)
Docheiarites - Chourmouzios	378/418 (90.4%)
Balases, varys mode	
Gregorios - Chourmouzios	304/420 (72.4%)
Bereketes, 1 st [plagal] mode	
Gregorios - Chourmouzios	323/415 (77.8%)
Gregorios - Docheiarites	320/415 (77.1%)
Docheiarites - Chourmouzios	364/415 (87.7%)

5 EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DIFFERENTIATION

Moving now to the eighteenth century, we repeated the whole process but only selected the Doxologies for which we have both transcriptions from the eighteenth century and *exeges* from the nineteenth century. Our source for eighteenth century is Ms Sinai 1477, where we found Melchizedek's and Chrysaphes's Doxologies recorded in *partes* notation. This way of interpreting this system sparked an interesting discussion between some scholars and us after the publication of our announcement, and thus we will dedicate the following subsection to developing our interpretive approach.

5.1 INTERPRETING MS SINAI 1477 VERSIONS

Ms Sinai 1477 is notated in *partes* notation, which is a specific version of Kievan notation, a system developed in late sixteenth century in Ukraine and Belarus. Gregorios Stathis¹⁰, based on the contents of the manuscript, dates it between 1700-60, while Irina Chudinova¹¹ connects it to the spiritual movement of Paisius Velichkovsky, which occurred during the second half of the eighteenth century. Combining the two scholars, we can place the manuscript between 1750-60.

During the analysis of Sinai 1477, we found some melodic movements very different from those indicated by the tradition of the old manuscripts¹², as well as some strange mistakes in the texts¹³. These observations led us to the conclusion that this manuscript is the result of a record by the scribe of a chanter singing (at least some of) the pieces by heart, including the Doxologies.¹⁴ Since Velichkovsky had close relations with the Holy Mountain¹⁵, the source of the scribe could be an Athonite monk.

Doxologies from Sinai 1477 will be compared to their New Method *exeges* made by Chourmouzios. Hence, we had the idea of transcribing the *partes* versions into the New Method in order to make the comparison more tangible. To carry out our transcription, we have taken into account previous transcriptions of Kievan scores into modern staff notation, the way current chanters interpret Kievan notation in actual performance, as well as some theoretical approaches from the previous centuries.

Firstly, we checked transcriptions made by eight different scholars. Five of them transcribe the Kievan *tactus* as a minim (Pichura¹⁶, Simons¹⁷, Sibiryakova¹⁸,

10 See Γρηγόριος Στάθης, "Το μουσικό χειρόγραφο Σινά 1477," in *Τιμή προς τον Διδάσκαλον*, ed. Αχιλλέας Χαλδαϊάκης (Athens: Ανατολής το Περίχημα, 2001), 473-5.

11 See Irina Chudinova, "Greek Chant in the Russian North," in *Crossroads. Greece as an intercultural pole of musical thought and creativity*, ed. Evi Nika-Sampson, Giorgos Sakallieros, Maria Alexandru, Giorgos Kitsios & Emmanouil Giannopoulos (Thessaloniki, 2013), 255.

12 See e.g. the beginning of the phrase "και άγιον πνεύμα" of the 3rd verse of the Chrysaphes's Doxology or the phrase "ο καθήμενος" of the 5th verse of the same Doxology.

13 In the 2nd verse of Melchizedek's Doxology, the scribe omits the phrase "δοξολογούμεν σοι", the melody of which is found investing the next phrase, "ευχαριστούμεν σοι", the melody of which is missing. See also in the 4th verse of Chrysaphes's Doxology, where instead of "την αμαρτίαν" we have "τας αμαρτίας" (see Ex. 7).

14 Therefore, we excluded the possibility that MS Sinai 1477 may be a *transnotation* from the Old Method to *partes* notation, where some parts could be transcribed "analytically" and some others "stenographically".

15 See Chudinova, "Greek Chant", 254.





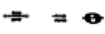






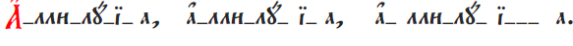
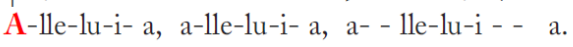
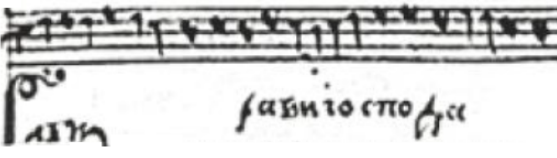

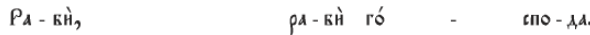
16 Gabriel Pichura, "The Podobny Texts and Chants of the Suprasl Irmologion of 1601," *The Journal of Belarusian Studies* II, no. 2 (1970): 192-221.

17 Nikita Simmons, "A Primer of Kievan Square-note (Quadratic or Synodal) Musical Notation" (2004). Accessed 21 May 2020. http://www.synaxis.info/psalom/research/simmons/Kievan_notation.pdf.

18 Nun Judif (Sibiryakova), "Great Polyeleos of Multan (by the Heirmologion of the Suprasl Monastery, XVI century)," *Вестник ПСТГУ V: Музыкальное искусство христианского мира* II, no. 3 (2008): 163-216.

Ignatenko¹⁹, Kachmar²⁰), while the rest transcribe it as a crotchet (Dragoumis²¹, Rolando²², Makris²³) (see Table 5). Even the same Ms is found transcribed in both ways by different scholars.²⁴

TABLE 5: Transcriptions from Kievan to Western staff notation made by eight scholars from the 20th and 21st century

Scholar	Transcriptional approach
Pichura	<p>The Supraśl <i>Irmologion</i> comprises the following notes:</p> <p>  =  <i>takt</i> or <i>breve</i>  =  <i>četverty</i> or <i>minim</i> </p> <p>  =  <i>polutakt</i> or <i>semibreve</i>  =  <i>polučetverty</i> or <i>crotchet</i> </p> <p>  =  <i>pol-polučetverty</i> or <i>quaver</i> </p>
Simons	 <p>   </p>
Sibiryakova	  <p>  </p> <p>(<i>Suprasl Heirmologion</i>, 1598-1601)</p>

19 Evgeniya Ignatenko, "Griechisch-byzantinische Quellen der Oktoechos 1769 von Kallistrat aus Kiew" in *Theorie und Geschichte der Monodie Bericht der Internationalen Tagung 2014*, ed. Martin Czernin & Maria Pischlöger (Brno, 2016), 245-93.

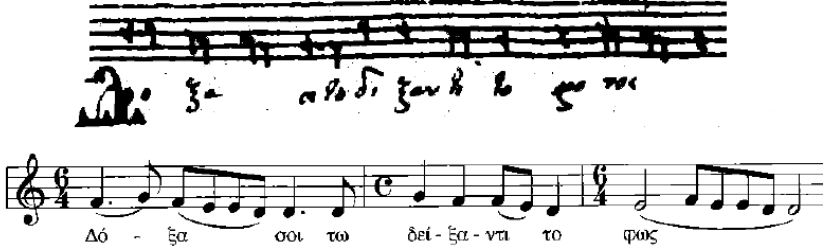

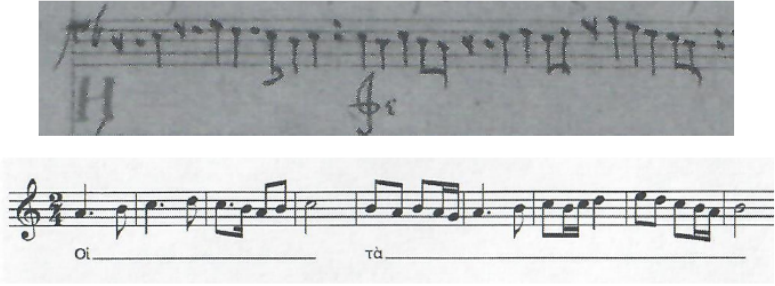
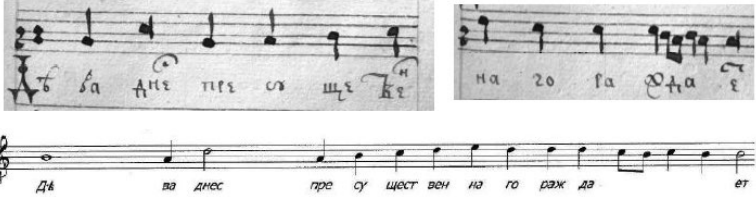

20 Марія Качмар, "Стихира на Різдва Христове Днесь Христос во Вифлеємі (музично-аналітичні спостереження)," in *Калюфонія: Науковий збірник з історії церковної монодії та гимнографії*, ed. Марія Качмар (2016), 67-79.

21 Μάρκος Δραγούμης, "Οι Μεταγραφές της Μεγάλης Δοξολογίας του Μελχισεδέκ," in *Η Παραδοσιακή μας Μουσική II*, ed. Μάρκος Δραγούμης (Athens: Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών Φίλοι Μουσικού Λαογραφικού Αρχείου Μέλπωσ Μερλιέ, 2009), 31-61.

22 Sloan Rolando, "Uncovering the Place and Origin of Carpatho-Rusyn Chant," (2010). Accessed 21 May 21 2020. <http://www.synaxis.info/psalom/research/rolando/CRChantFullArt.PDF>.

23 Ευστάθιος Μακρής, "Χερουβικόν «πολίτικον»." Μια πρώιμη «μεταγραφή» ελληνικού εκκλησιαστικού μέλους," in *Psaltike. Neue Studien zur Byzantinischen Musik: Festschrift für Gerda Wolfram*, ed. Nina-Maria Wanek (Wien: Praesens, 2011), 205-18.

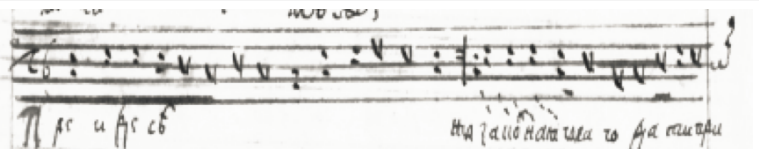
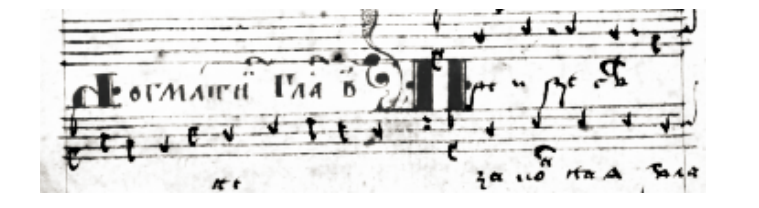

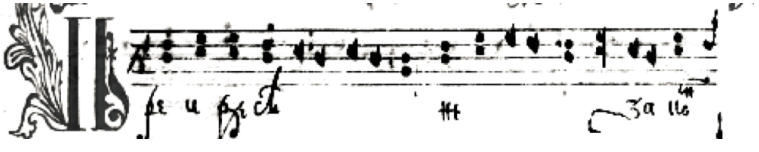
24 Compare the transcriptions of the Suprasl Heirmologion made by Sibiryakova and Kachmar with those of Makris.

<p>Dragoumis (based on Anto-nowycz)</p>	 <p>(Sinai 1477, 1750-60)</p>
<p>Rolando</p>	 <p>(L'vov Irmologion, 1709)</p>
<p>Makris</p>	 <p>(Suprasl Heirmologion, 1598-1601)</p>
<p>Ignatenko</p>	 <p>(Octoechos of Kallistrat, 1769)</p>
<p>Kachmar</p>	 <p>(Suprasl Heirmologion, 1598-1601)</p>


Beyond this, we discovered that some pieces are found recorded in some Heirmologia with durations double those in some other Heirmologia of the same period (see Ex. 6). This leads to the conclusion that Kievan notation itself shows

ambiguity as to its *tactus*. The question is whether this ambiguity is related to a differentiation in performance or whether it consists a pure notational convention.

EXAMPLE 6: The second mode dogmatic “Преиде стънь законная” (gr. Παρήλθεν η σκιά του νόμου) recorded in four different Heirmologia in Kievan notation²⁵

late 16 th c.	Heirmologion of Lviv MB 50 (doubled <i>tactus</i>)	
	Heirmologion of Suprasl (single <i>tactus</i>)	
17 th c.	Kanchuzky's Heirmologion (single <i>tactus</i>)	
	Heirmologion O17 (doubled <i>tactus</i>)	

Nikita Simmons (ibid., 2) informs us that “the values of the Kievan notes are double their equivalents in the modern system, so we should sing all the chants as if they were given a time signature of ‘cut time’ (♩)”. This statement implies that transcriptions having the minim as their *tactus* follow a mere notational convention, a suspicion confirmed by contemporary chanting practices. If one surfs the YouTube channel “CarpathoRuthenica”²⁶, one may see several videos displaying Kievan scores accompanied by recordings of the corresponding pieces performed by various chanters. In their interpretation, the chanters keep a conventional *tactus* that is identical to a typical crotchet of a Western score in 4/4, following various tempi.

Beyond current approaches, we also took into account elements from the theoretical treatise “Music Grammar” written in 1677 by Nikolay Diletsky²⁷, where the sign  is described as “the *tactus*” that needs “two ‘calmly’ hand movements (one up, one down)”, thus corresponding to one minim with a relatively slow tempo. This information is repeated two centuries later by Nikolai Mikhailovich Potulov²⁸, who makes a further distinction between “the *tactus* of the beginners”,

25 From Maria Kachmar, “Особливості музичного тексту догматика другого гласу в нотолінійних Ірмологіонах XVI–XVIII ст. (до питання запису мутації),” *Українська Музика* I, no. 27 (2018), 5-10.

26 See <https://www.youtube.com/user/CarpathoRuthenica> (17 May 2020).

27 See Николая Дилецкаго, *Музикііская Грамматика*, Посмертный Трудъ С.В. Смоленскаго (1910), 56-7.

28 See Николай Михайлович Потулов, *Руководство Къ Практическому Изученію* (Moscow: Свнодальной Типографіи, 1888).

which has four movements for educational purposes, in contrast to the actual “tactus of the chanters”, which includes only two movements.

Moving on to the transcription of the Doxologies recorded in Sinai 1477, we had two options: either to follow a double tactus and somehow indicate a ‘cut time’ (which is actually a very quick tempo), or to keep a single tactus and keep a normal or relatively slow tempo (according to Diletsky). The first option is very unusual in current New Method tradition, appearing exclusively in kratemata and in some chants for the Liturgy of St Basil, and never in Doxologies. A doubled-tactus score would also tempt a modern chanter to “analyse” the durations, adding ornamentations, and thus totally changing the original melodies. Furthermore, we observed that several excerpts from the Sinai versions are almost identical to Chourmouzos’s *exegesis*, and so a double-duration transcription in New Method would be misleading (see Ex. 7).

EXAMPLE 7: The 4th verse of Chrysaphes’s Doxology from Sinai 1477 version and its two possible New Method transcriptions, and Chourmouzos’s *exegesis*

Sinai 1477, ff. 84v, 85r

VEHUSI O THEOS O APROS
TOU THEOU O YOS TOU ZHS
O E GUY PAS A GUS IN AS TOU UOS GUS
E LETH OUV N GUS O E GUY PAS A GUS
IN AS TOU UOS GUS

New Method transcription in **double** tactus

Handwritten musical notation for double tactus, consisting of seven lines of rhythmic symbols and Greek letters. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accents, with Greek letters such as alpha (α), beta (β), gamma (γ), delta (δ), epsilon (ε), zeta (ζ), eta (η), theta (θ), iota (ι), kappa (κ), lambda (λ), mu (μ), nu (ν), xi (ξ), omicron (ο), pi (π), rho (ρ), sigma (σ), tau (τ), upsilon (υ), phi (φ), chi (χ), psi (ψ), omega (ω), and the letter sigma (σ) used as a symbol.

New Method transcription in **single** tactus

Handwritten musical notation for single tactus, consisting of seven lines of rhythmic symbols and Greek letters. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accents, with Greek letters such as alpha (α), beta (β), gamma (γ), delta (δ), epsilon (ε), zeta (ζ), eta (η), theta (θ), iota (ι), kappa (κ), lambda (λ), mu (μ), nu (ν), xi (ξ), omicron (ο), pi (π), rho (ρ), sigma (σ), tau (τ), upsilon (υ), phi (φ), chi (χ), psi (ψ), omega (ω), and the letter sigma (σ) used as a symbol.

Chourmouziou's version, NLG-MPT 704, f. 231r

Handwritten musical notation in Greek script with rhythmic markings above the text. The text is:
 Ki ri e o the os o am no os tu the
 u o i o os tu pa tros o
 e ron tin a ma ar ti a an tu
 ko oz mu e le i so on i
 mas o e ron tas a ma ar
 ti a as tu ko oz mu

Printed musical score with six staves of music and corresponding lyrics. The lyrics are:
 Ki ri e o the os o am no os tu the
 u o i o os tu pa tros o
 e ron tin a ma ar ti a an tu
 ko oz mu e le i so on i
 mas o e ron tas a ma ar
 ti a as tu ko oz mu

Our final decision was to transcribe Doxologies in a *single tactus*. In order to confirm our decision, we asked chanter and researcher Irina Starikova to chant and record for us the first verse of Melchizedek’s Doxology as notated in Sinai 1477. The result was exactly what we expected: she sang it as having a normal crotchet tactus, but keeping a slow tempo of about 73 bpm, which if transcribed in double tactus in the New Method would be sung in the unusual, unnatural and non-traditional tempo of 146 bpm²⁹! After all, this is the way Chrysanthos himself transcribes a cut time score into the New Method in his treatise (see Fig. 1). Let us now move on to our analysis.

FIGURE 1: The way in which Chrysanthos (ibid, p. 222) transcribes into the New Method a Western score in cut time

Faux - bourdons.

Gloria patri & filio & spiritu i sancto
Ως πουρδόν.

Γλορι α πα τρι ετ φι λι ο ετ σπι ρι του ι ουγκτο

5.2 COMPARING THE SINAI 1477 VERSIONS WITH CHOURMOUZIOS’ EXEGESES

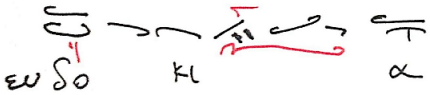
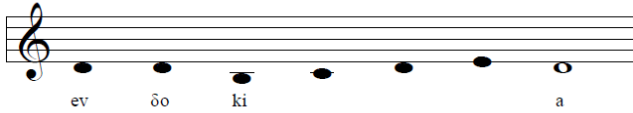
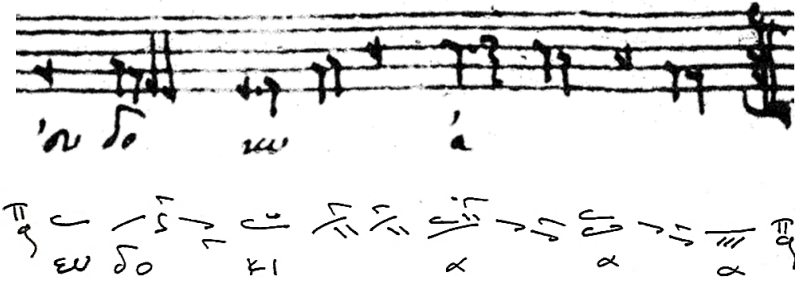
Our initial observations are the same as in the previous comparison: in eighteenth-century versions extra melismata, different neumatizing points and different texture may be observed.

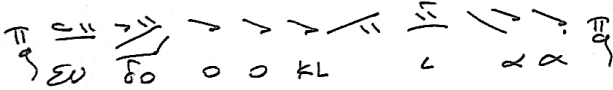

Extra melismata are found exclusively in seven phrase-endings of Melchizedek’s Doxology, some of which are similar to melismata written elsewhere in the original Old Method manuscript (see Ex. 8).

29 The extreme case of the hymn for the Liturgy of St Basil, “Την γαρ σην μήτραν” is chanted by the Protopsaltis Thrasyvoulos Stanitsas (1910-1987) in a tempo of about 138 bpm (see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXO9yCwNTHA>).

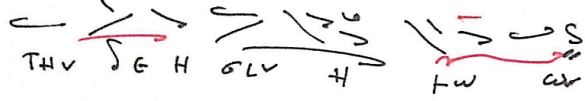
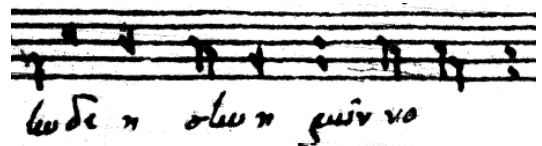
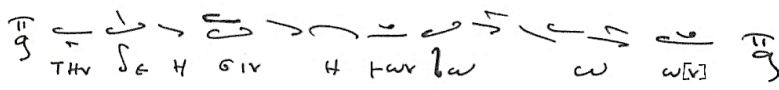
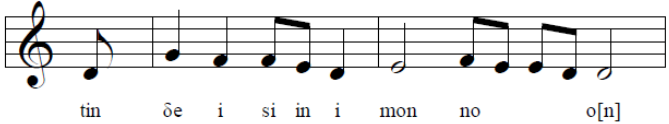
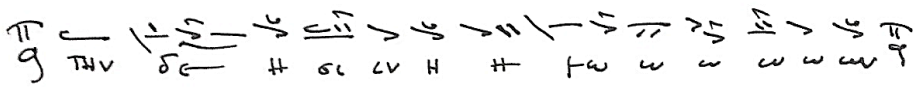

EXAMPLE 8: The last part of the first verse and the end of the first phrase of the fifth verse of Melchizedek’s Doxology notated in the Old Notation and its 18th and 19th c. versions. One can see that the extra melisma added at the first verse in the 18th c. version, is similar to a cadential phrase at the beginning of the fifth verse of the original composition.

A.

<p>Old Method <i>Bucharest 52, f. 105r</i></p>


<p>mid-18th c. version <i>Sinai 1477, f. 88r</i></p>


<p>early 19th c. version <i>Chourmouzos, NLG-MPT 704, f. 229r</i></p>



B.

<p>Old Method</p> <p><i>Bucharest 52, f. 105v</i></p>
 
<p>mid-18th c. version</p> <p><i>Sinai 1477, f. 88v</i></p>
  
<p>early 19th c. version</p> <p><i>Chourmouzos, NLG-MPT 704, f. 229r</i></p>
 

The two versions of Melchizedek’s Doxology coincides in 66.2 % regarding their starting point of neumatization, while the two versions of Chrysaphes’s Doxology coincides in 60%. The deviation again suggests the absence of any indication in the old notation for starting neumatization.

The most obvious difference between the two versions is found in their texture. While in Chourmouzos’s *exegeses* all the phrases are mainly neumatic, Sinai 1477 versions have many purely syllabic phrases (see Ex. 9). Specifically, 25.3% of the phrases in Melchizedek’s Doxology and 13.3% in Chrysaphes’s Doxology are syllabic.

The textural differentiation of the two versions is displayed in Tables 5 and 6, the horizontal line of which presents the number of beats, while the vertical one presents the number of syllables.

EXAMPLE 9: The difference in texture between the two versions of the 3rd verse of Melchizedek’s Doxology. The syllabic parts of the Sinai version are in frames.

Old Method
Iviron 1039, f. 149v-150r

Κυ ρι ε Βα ρυ λευ ε που ρα υλ ε θε
 ε ε ε πα τερ παν το κρα α τερ Κυ ρι
 υλ ε μο νο θε υς L η σου
 πνε υα ρι ου πνε υα
 Ki ri e va si lef e pu ra ni e
 the e pa ter pan do kra
 tor ki ri e i e mo no ye nes
 i i su hri ste ke a yi on
 pne ev ma

mid-18th c. version
Sinai 1477, f. 88r, 88v

Handwritten musical notation on three staves. The first staff has a red box around the end. The second and third staves are fully boxed in red. The lyrics are in Greek.

Handwritten musical notation with rhythmic markings and Greek lyrics.

Printed musical notation on three staves with Latin lyrics.

Ki ri e va si le ef e pu ra ni e the
e pa ter pan do kra tor ki ri e i
e mo no ye nes i i su hri ste ke a yi on pne ev ma

early 19th c. version
Chourmouzos, *NLG-MPT 704, f. 229r*

ΚΟΥΡΕ ΒΑ ΟΛ ΔΕΥ Ε ΝΥ ΠΑ Χ ΥΙ Ε Ε Θ Ε
 ΠΑ ΤΗ ΠΑΥ ΤΟ ΚΑ Χ ΤΑΥ ΚΟΥ Ο
 ΠΛ Ε ΟΛ Ε Ε ΧΟ Ο Ο ΤΕ ΥΣ Ι Η ΣΟΥ ΟΥ
 ΧΡ Ι Ε Ε ΚΑ Χ Τ ΟΥ ΝΥ ΕΥ ΤΑ

Ki ri e va si lef e pu ra ni e the
 e pa ter pa an do kra tor
 ki ri e i e mo no ye nes i i su hri
 ste ke a yi o on pne ev ma

TABLE 5: The texture of the two versions of Melchizedek’s Doxology

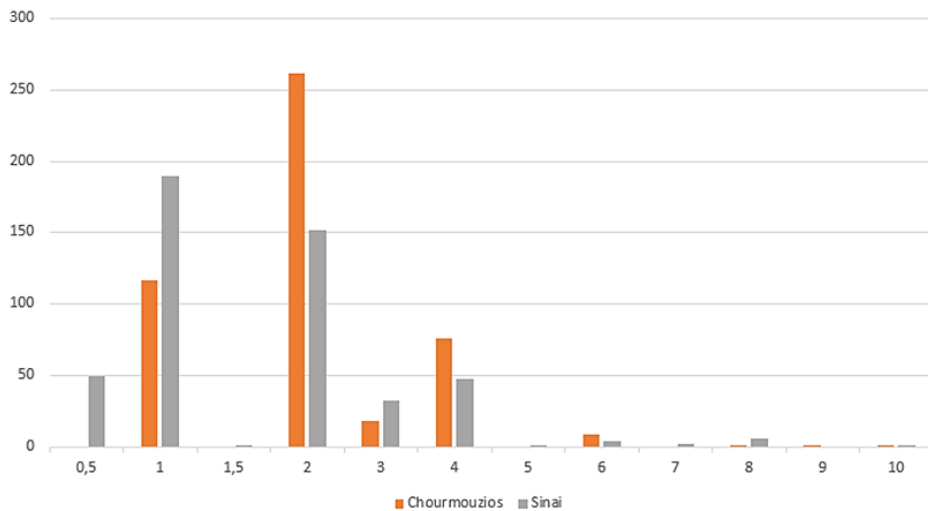
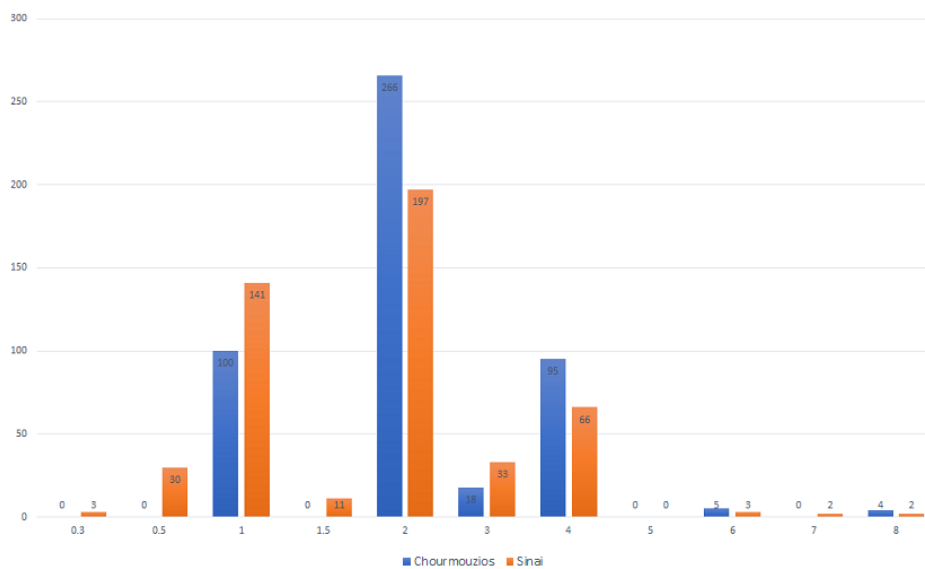


TABLE 6: The texture of the two versions of Chrysaphes's Doxology

Applying the Hypothesis Testing to the two different versions of the Doxologies, we found them considered non-similar. Specifically, the probability of the Sinai versions being similar to Chourmouzos's *exegeses* is less than 0.001! Counting now the similarities between the two versions of the Doxologies, we found deviation of 63.3% for Melchizedek's Doxology and 55.1% for that by Chrysaphes. Combining our observations with the statistical results, we arrived at the general idea of a distinct mixed syllabo-neumatic texture in the eighteenth-century versions of the old Doxologies.

6 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis of our sample, we came to the following conclusions:

1. There is no indication for beginning neumatization in the Old Method.
2. Moving from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, we observe a development from a mixed syllabo-neumatic to a mainly neumatic style in the way of chanting Doxologies based on the same Old Method score.³⁰ This development most likely led to the creation of the two distinct styles of chanting and, consequently, composing Doxologies (as well as of other genres): the syllabic style called *syntomon* (i.e. short) and the neumatic style called *argon* (i.e. slow).
3. In our analysis of the various versions of the Doxologies, we spot three different features, the flexibility of which determines the whole temperament of each version:
 - a. the interchangeability between syllabic and neumatic approach,
 - b. the addition of extra melismata at the end of some phrases,
 - c. the choice of the point where neumatization starts. The mid-eighteenth century chanter of Sinai 1477 is flexible in all features. Early-nineteenth century Athonite *exegetes* follow this tradition except for the interchangeability, while Gregorios and Chourmouzos, attempting to be more systematic and faithful to the Old Method score, show flexibility exclusively in starting neumatization.

³⁰ We should also take into account the existence of local traditions in different chanting centers. Probably this process had already begun in Constantinople, while on Mount Athos an older practice is preserved.

It can be reasonably assumed that a semantic shifting of the term *exegesis* occurred at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of nineteenth century. For the hypothetical Athonite chanter of Sinai 1477, practicing *exegesis* seems to mean a kind of musical elaboration of the indicated by the old notation melody, based on subjective aesthetic criteria, perhaps in combination with local traditional techniques, or vice versa. This elaboration includes partial neumatizations and addition of extra melismata at the end of some verses. Nineteenth-century *exegetes* from Athos seem to maintain the old concept, being more intent on a mainly neumatic temperament. In contrast, Gregorios and Chourmouzos try to give as much objectivity and as much of a “scientific approach” as possible to the process of *exegesis*. Hence, they re-conceptualize the term as a process that has much more to do with the transcription from what is considered as a more synoptic notation to a more analytical one, with the very melody remaining unchanged.³¹

In addition, during our research, we developed two ideas that need further examination: Firstly, we suspect that in eighteenth century, some syllabic or mixed syllabo-neumatic pieces were chanted very slowly. This gradually led to re-analysis of their tempo, and thus a very slow tactus became two very fast tacti. This new very fast tempo became normal and gave space to the development of ornamentation. Thus, a new style of interpreting the old pieces emerged. This can be detected in a few chants that are found recorded in New Method in both syllabic and neumatic way by different scribes/editors (see Ex. 10). Note that a similar process happened during this period in Ottoman secular music from Constantinople³² (see Ex.11), with which the Rum chanters had close relationships. Hence, an Ottoman influence can be considered very likely.

31 Schartau & Troelsgård claim that even the New Method teachers used the term *exegesis* to describe “a variety of different procedures of embellished performance or re-composition in the later Byzantine repertoires”, distinguishing it to the process of transcribing late Byzantine chants from the old into the new notation, for which they used the term *metafrasis* (i.e. translation) (see Bjarne Schartau & Christian Troelsgård, “The Translation of Byzantine Chants into the “New Method”: Joasaph Pantokratorinos - Composer and Scribe of Musical Manuscripts,” *Acta Musicologica* 69, No 2 (July-December 1997): 138.

32 See Owen Wright, “Aspects of Historical Change in the Turkish Classical Repertoire,” *Musica Asiatica* 5 (1988), 1-109; Jacob Olley, “Rhythmic Augmentation and the Transformation of the Ottoman Peşrev, 18th – 19th Centuries,” in *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*, ed. Zeynep Helvacı, Jacob Olley & Ralf Martin Jäger (Würzburg: Orient-Institut Istanbul, 2017), 177-87.

EXAMPLE 10: A. The common melody of the troparion of the East “Χριστός ανέστη” notated both syllabically and neumatically³³

syllabic version

Rom. 13, f. 65, before 1834, BMN

Χρῖστος ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς ἠγέρθη τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανὸν κάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν ἵνα κρίνῃ τοὺς ζῶντες καὶ τοὺς νεκρούς. ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπινοοῦμεν τὸ τέλος. Ἄμήν.

Chri stos a ne sti ek ne kron tha na to tha na ton pa
ti sa as ke ti is e en dis mni ma si zo in ha ri sa me no os

neumatic version

Emmanouel Farlekas, *Πεντηκοστάριον* (Athens: Μέλισσα, 1935), 4

Χρῖστος ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς ἠγέρθη τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανὸν κάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν ἵνα κρίνῃ τοὺς ζῶντες καὶ τοὺς νεκρούς. ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπινοοῦμεν τὸ τέλος. Ἄμήν.

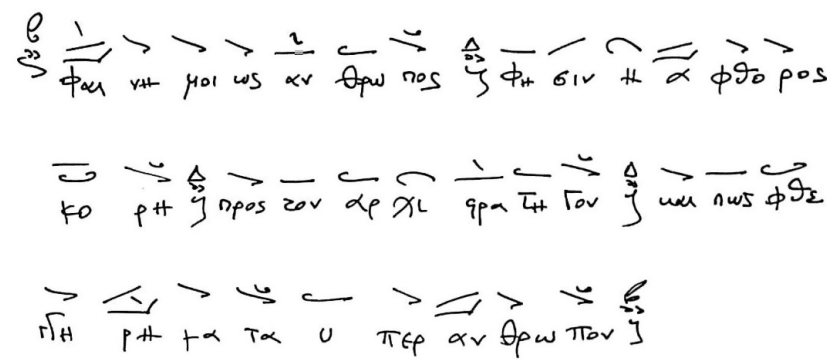
Chri sto os a ne sti e ek ne kron tha
na to tha na ton pa ti
sa as ke ti is e en diz mni ma
si zo in ha ri sa me nos

33 Farlekas characterizes this version as “the commonly chanted by the people”.


B. The beginning of the sticheron prosomoion of the Annunciation “Φαίνη μοι ως άνθρωπος” notated in simple syllabic, ornamented syllabic and neumatic way

simple syllabic version

Chourmouziou, BKΨ, folder I, 1826?, p. 23



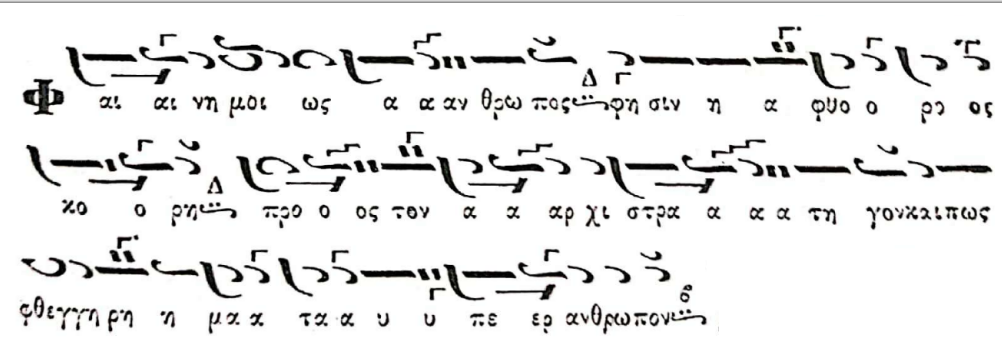
Φαι νη μοι ως ανθρωπος φη σιν η α φθο ρος κο ρι
 ρο ρη προ ο ρς τον α α ρχι στρα τι γον κε pos fthe ngi ρι ma ta i per an thro pon




Fe ni mi os an thro pos fi sin i a ftho ros ko ri
 pros ton ar chi stra ti γon ke pos fthe ngi ρι ma ta i per an thro pon

syllabic version with ornamentation

Stefanos Lampadarios, Μουσική Κυψέλη Α' (1883), 325

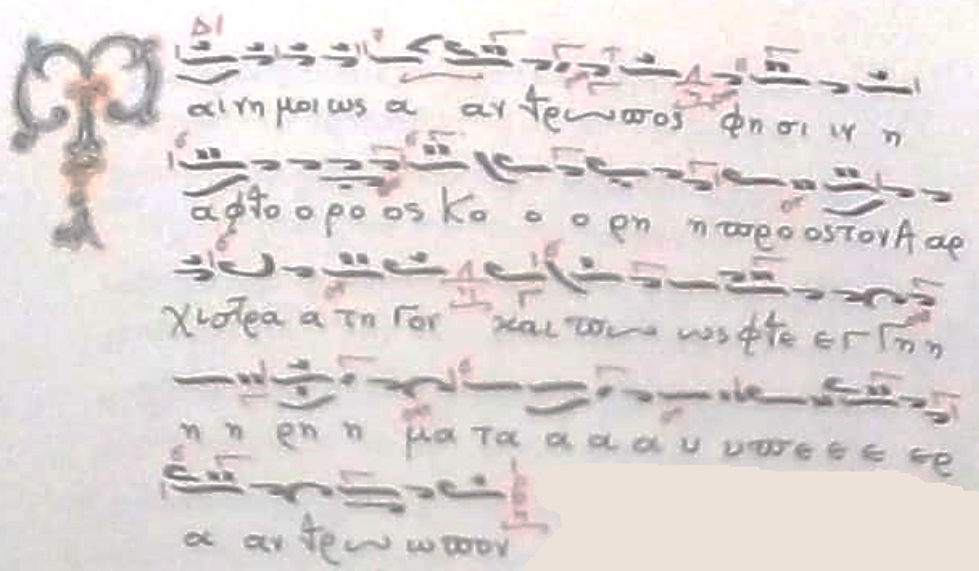






Φ αι αι νη μοι ως α α ανθρωπος φη σιν η α φθο ο ρο ρος
 χο ο ρη προ ο ρς τον α α ρχι στρα α α α τη γονκατω ρος
 φθειγγη ρη η μα α τα α υ υ πε ερ ανθρωπων



Fe ni mi os an thro pos fi sin i a ftho ros
 ko ri pros ton ar chi stra ti γon ke pos
 fthen gi ρι ma ta i pe er an thro pon


neumatic version
 Mattheos Vatopedinos (1774-1849), *Πανηγυρική Α'* (Athos: Vatopedi, 1997), 335





 Fe ni mi os a an thro pos fi si in i

 a ftho ro os ko ri pro os to on a ar chi

 stra ti yon ke po os fthe en gi ri ma

 ta i pe er a an thro pon

EXAMPLE 11: The beginning of “Bestenigar berefşan” recorded by Dimitrie Cantemir (*Collection* no. 281) in the late 17th c. and by Charles Fonton in 1751. You can see how the simple melody of 16/4 rhythm became ornamented in the doubled 32/4 rhythm.³⁴

Cantemir version



Fonton version



34 From Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court* (Berlin: VWB, 1996), 445.

We also observed that Sinai 1477 versions are written in a kind of free sense of time. Someone had partly to change several of the durations of the notes in order to chant the melodies in a strict mensuralist way. There are two possible explanations for this feature: either the scribe had a bad sense of tempo, or the chanter sang in a freer rhythm, i.e. *rubato*. However, it seems reasonable that a mensuralist performance could be easily recorded, even by someone having a bad sense of tempo. The presence of *rubato* interpretation in many musical idioms originating from old Byzantine music (e.g. Italo-Albanian³⁵, the tradition of the Ionian Islands³⁶, Kievan Chant³⁷, Cunțana Chant³⁸, Znamenny Chant³⁹, Rizitiko song⁴⁰ etc.) supports the hypothesis of a freer interpretation of Byzantine pieces before the mid-eighteenth century. Possible influences of Ottoman secular and Sufi music (in which rhythm plays an important role as a mnemotechnical and denatural tool, respectively) may led to a more mensuralist chanting. Thus, traditional (free) ornamentations possibly connected to particular subsidiary signs acquired a specific melodic form within the strict tempo. In addition, quick syllabic beginnings also stretched in order to fit the beat. Inevitably, this led to an increase in the duration of pieces, and paved the way for the development of a distinct neumatic style in which Great Doxologies came to be sung in the early nineteenth century.

35 See Giuseppe Sanfratello, "Oral performances in a (post-)literate society," *M&STE - elektronisk tidskrift för konferensen musik & samhälle*, no 1 (2016): 78.

36 See Σωτήρης Δεσπότης, "Η Παραδοσιακή Κερκυραϊκή Ψαλτική Τέχνη," Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς, vol. 812 (Thessaloniki 2006): 1034.

37 According to Dimitri Razumovskij, Kievan notation never had a mensuralist interpretation (see Димитрий Васильевич Разумовский, *Богослужбное пение Православной Греко-Российской Церкви*. - М. (1886): 30.

38 See Costin Moisil, "'You have to sing them correctly!' Notation and Performance in Cunțana Chant," *Musicology Today* 19 (2014).

39 See Alfred Swan, "The Znamenny Chant of the Russian Church," *The Musical Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (April 1940): 15.

40 See Γεώργιος Χατζηθεοδώρου, "Τα Ριζίτικα Τραγούδια της Κρήτης και η Βυζαντινή Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική," *Μελολογία* I (Thessaloniki, 2008): 346.



ORTHODOX CHANT IN PORTUGAL TODAY PROJECT PRESENTATION¹

PROJECT TEAM

Svetlana Poliakova (coordinator), Ivan Moody (consultant),
António Baptista, Helena Vaskova, Joana Peliz, Luís António Ferro (collaborators)

I INTRODUCTION. ORTHODOXY IN PORTUGAL. THE SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

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INTRODUCTION. ORTHODOXY IN PORTUGAL

Christian Portugal has a long history, the province of Lusitania having become Christian under the Roman Empire, subsequently receiving the already Christian Suevi and Visigoth tribes in the 5th century. The early period of Portuguese Christianity (necessarily overlapping with the processes of Christianization of the lands of what is now Spain) was marked by the activity and prayer of many saints. Amongst them are the Apostle James, who is traditionally held to be buried at Santiago de Compostela; St Peter of Rates (1st cent.); St Vincent the Martyr (d. c. 304), Sts Verissimus, Maxima and Julia (d. 304); the renowned missionary, monastic founder and theologian St Martin of Braga (d. c. 580); the martyr St Irene of Tomar (d. c. 653) and St Fructuosus of Braga (d. 665). About a dozen pre-Romanesque church buildings, mostly rebuilt, have been preserved in Portugal, chiefly in the north; they mark the different phases of the affirmation of Christianity in those lands. These include the church of the Monastery of Rates near Póvoa de Varzim, from the Suebi-Visigothic period, and the chapel of St Fructuosus, founded in the seventh century near Braga. As for the liturgy and chant, it is stated that at the beginning of the sixth century

there was experienced, then, the final phase of constitution, in the various regions of the Iberian Peninsula and in Europe in general, of a repertoire of artistically elaborate

¹ This project was supported by CESEM at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal. I would like to thank Fr Ivan Moody for his advice during the writing of this article.

chants, linked to an increasing specialization of functions within the Church. The Iberian repertoire, influenced by the traditions of Gaul, Africa, Jerusalem and even Byzantium (whose troops occupied, in the second half of the sixth century and the beginning of the next, the south of the Peninsula, including the Algarve and part of the Alentejo) was certainly diversified according to the local particularities of the liturgy.²

A unification of liturgy and of repertoire took place in the seventh century, resulting in the "Hispanic-Visigothic rite," which was followed in most of the Iberian Peninsula until the end of the eleventh century, and which established a barrier between the churches of the West and the East; the decree of 1080 abolished, in favour of the Frankish-Roman rite, the Spanish-Visigothic rule in the Peninsula, within which an intersection with Eastern Christian singing could be traced.

The twentieth century opened a new wave of manifestation in Portugal of Christian traditions originating from the countries of the Byzantine rite. In the framework of a small state, and to the greatest extent in its capital, Lisbon, on account of several waves of emigration, representatives of a number of Orthodox Churches – Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Syrians, Georgians, Russians, Bulgarians, Romanians, Moldovans, Serbs and Ukrainians poured into the society as a whole. Some of them, such as the Syrians or Russian Old Believers who emigrated from Canada, are not organized into separate communities.

Essentially, however, Orthodox people come together in groups based on their common language and the church traditions of their country of origin. While some ethnic Orthodox groups are few in number and either do not have official church status, or are registered as cultural and non-church organizations, such as the Copts and Georgians, most Orthodox emigrants are organized in parishes representing the patriarchates of their countries. Parishes can either unite people of different nationalities, for example, Ukrainians, Moldovans, and Russians in the "Russian" church of the Moscow Patriarchate, or they can tend to national separation, for example, in the "Moldavian" parishes of the same Patriarchate; Moldovans, because of the common language, moreover, the same families, can attend both services of the Romanian Church and the Moldovan parishes of the Moscow Patriarchate; Ukrainians are divided into different parishes from the point of view of church organization. The third socio-ecclesiastical reality is the Portuguese Orthodox Church, which resulted, over the course of more than half a century of existence, in a number of canonical and non-canonical organizations; in addition, Portuguese people, in varying proportions, are included in almost every non-Portuguese parish.

This entire complex reality is directly reflected in church singing, presenting a picture of many components and contrasts. The music in use in parishes depends very largely on the national tradition adapted, previous experience and knowledge of the choir director responsible and the level of skill of the choir. A diversity of repertoires may thus be found, including monodic and polyphonic chants of the same national branch; nevertheless, as a rule, in each of the parishes one particular style prevails, into which others are interspersed as "exotic." For example, singing in Russian parishes is guided by four-voice repertoire, universally used within the framework of the Moscow Patriarchate, although more often it is limited to two voices for logistical reasons, but some fragments of the liturgy, in accordance with the taste of the director and the choir, might include Znamenny arrangements with ison or four-part transcriptions (reduced to two voices) of the Georgian repertoire.

² Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Antologia de Música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento*. Vol. I. (Lisboa: Arte das Musas, 2008), 10.

Against the background of this many-sided picture of the singing in the Orthodox diasporas, the singing practice of the former Greek parish of St Nectarius of Aegina, in the Patriarchate of Constantinople stands out.

Appearing in 1994 as the first “canonical” parish approved in Portugal (earlier and for some time simultaneously, there had been the celebrations of the Orthodox Portuguese, who were not in communion with the local Orthodox churches, and of ROCOR) and becoming the host base for the Orthodox communities (Ukrainian Constantinople Patriarchate, Bulgarian, Romanian) that have gradually come to make up the Portuguese Orthodox world, the parish included Orthodox people of different nationalities and traditions, not numerically highlighting any of them. The Portuguese priest Fr Alexander Bonito did not aim at the dominance of Greek tradition; the then-psaltis Ivan Moody, being a professional musician who knows well the styles of singing of Orthodox churches, harmoniously combined polyphonic and monophonic material mainly from Greek, Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian traditions, used both by churches in the countries and in the diaspora (it was in this choir that my joint work with Father Ivan began); chants were selected during a service depending on the nationality of those present. In addition to the multi-ethnic musical profile of services, one more quality distinguishes Ivan Moody’s work as a psaltis – his systematic activity in the translation of liturgical texts and adaptation of chant repertoires from different languages church to Portuguese – a language whose presence in the parish accorded with the number of its representatives.

In 2007, the second Greek parish of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, that of St John the Russian, was opened near Lisbon, its rector being Father Ivan Moody, ordained in October of that year. The traditions of singing, laid down by him as a psaltis of the first parish, continued and developed in the new parish – the kliros is directed by his wife, a professional singer and viola da gamba player, and with the participation of other musicians and musicologists.

The inclusion of musicologists among the members of the clergy and the choir is another trait that makes the parish of St John Russian stand out against the background of Orthodox communities in Portugal. Of the three, Fr Ivan Moody and I represent Universidade Nova de Lisboa, and specifically its research unit CESEM. The university offers a course, unique in Portugal, of studies in Orthodox church music, which I created and have taught since 2011. Based on this discipline, a chamber choir was formed that includes students, mostly Portuguese.

THE SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

The intersection of interests from three realities – liturgical, academic and scientific – resulted in the creation of the project “Orthodox Chant in Portugal”. In this first phase, research is carried out into the historical, patrological, iconographical, sociological, stylistic and performance contexts (there follows an article which elaborates on one of the parameters under study – that of the performance of Orthodox repertoire in concerts in Portugal) through the performance, by the Academic choir and the Pravoslava chamber choir, whose objective was to show the richness and diversity of Orthodox music (among the members are Fr Ivan Moody and me), through the creation of new repertoire, with particular emphasis on the work of Fr Ivan Moody; through the preparation and publication of a set of scores, with texts in Portuguese and/or in transliteration (From Greek or

Slavonic) of the fixed parts of the Liturgy, Vespers and Matins, the Sunday Octoechos and the propers for the most important feasts (what will be new in these publications, in comparison with extant editorial practices, is the bringing together of repertoires from the Churches of several countries and different stylistic tendencies; a contribution on the research and practical employment of the translated repertory may be found below), and through the liturgical use of the repertoire being researched, performed in concert, prepared for publication and composed: this initiative began in 2018 with Vespers celebrated by Fr Ivan Moody with the choir of the parish of St John the Russian, Estoril (Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople), with the participation of the Pravoslava chamber choir.

The project involves various elements of Portuguese society – the academic community (teachers, researchers and students at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at the Universidade Nova in Lisbon and CESEM), members of parishes (priests and singers from the Greek, Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Serbian churches in Lisbon), and also external collaboration with a researcher from Athens and a graphic designer in London.

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II THE MODERN CONTEXT: MUSIC IN CONCERT

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In the few last decades, Christian music from Eastern Europe has been gaining a prominent place on the Portuguese stage. It started to become more widespread at the beginning of the millennium, which can be explained, in part, by the increase in people coming to Portugal from countries such as Ukraine, Moldova, Romania and Russia between 1991 and 2001, as documented by the National Institute of Statistics. This significant migration trend resulted in a more diverse foreign resident population.¹

In 2001, Russian Music: A Feast was the theme for one of the most important annual musical events in Portugal, the Dias da Música (Days of Music) at Centro Cultural de Belém in Lisbon. Located near the iconic point where ships departed to cross the Atlantic for the Portuguese “Discoveries”, the Centro Cultural de Belém is an arts complex with exhibition galleries, a conference centre, spaces for dance, theatre and performing arts, restaurants, outdoor spaces, and a grand auditorium for symphonic music and opera. Since 2002, it has been classified as a monument of public interest. For Dias da Música, La Folle Journée de Nantes, created by René Martin, came to Lisbon, offering a thematic three-day programme with 132 concerts across the various spaces at the Centre. Choral music was particularly significant. One of the choirs was the Drevnerusski Rospev choir from the Moscow

¹ Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE), Censos 2001: resultados definitivos: XIV recenseamento geral da população: IV recenseamento geral da habitação (Lisboa: I.N.E., 2001).

Patriarchate, directed by Anatoly Gridenko. A small book entitled *Russian Music: A Brief Overview*,² edited by Público, one of Portugal's daily newspapers, was distributed. Chapter six, 'A panorama of Russian sacred music', was written by Ivan Moody, Protopresbyter of the Greek Orthodox Church, and it introduced music enthusiasts to the history of this repertoire. Given its visibility and status, the festival became a key element in the dissemination of Russian sacred music.

In 2001, the first group dedicated to singing this repertoire in Portugal was founded. The Pravoslava chamber choir, made up of musicians from various Orthodox traditions, including Protopresbyter Ivan Moody and the musicologist Svetlana Poliakova, aimed to show the richness and diversity of this type of music. One of the group's first concerts took place at Palácio Foz, a palace built in the late 18th century in the historic centre of Lisbon, which has a regular music programme, often with free entrance.

Embassies have also made an important contribution to the dissemination of sacred music from eastern Europe, through organizing concerts to commemorate key events, for example. At the invitation of the Bulgarian Embassy, the Ioann Koukouzelis choir performed in Portugal under the direction of Dimitar Nikolov Dimitrov, in 2011; and as part of the programme to celebrate Europe Day, the Romanian male choir Theophania, formed of seventeen singers and directed by Maestro Ciprian Para, gave the Portuguese public a rendition of Byzantine songs in the Church of Madre de Deus and the Estrela Basilica, which are important monuments in the Portuguese capital as well as being spaces of Christian worship.

More recently, in July 2019, the Georgian Embassy supported a concert by the Batumi Ensemble (which had previously visited Portugal four times) to present the country's polyphonic singing, which is classified by UNESCO as an Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. The concert took place at the Panteão Nacional (National Pantheon), whose dome rises above the historic centre of Lisbon and whose marble interior contains the tombs of luminaries who contributed to the country's political and cultural history.

The Russian Orthodox community in Portugal has formed special groups to perform choral repertoire and has also, through the Pravoslava choir, promoted the music beyond religious spaces. For example, the Choral Group of the Russian Orthodox Church of Lisbon gave a concert of Russian polyphonic liturgical music at the Assembly of the Republic in 2008. And international links have continued for performances in religious spaces. For example, in 2017, the choir of the Russian Orthodox Seminary in France was invited by the parish of the Orthodox Church of Faro, in the south of Portugal, to participate in the evening liturgy and its attendant vigils, and to give a concert of liturgical and popular songs in Faro Cathedral. This choir returned to Portugal the following year, giving two more concerts, one of them at Lisbon Cathedral.

In 2017, Orthodox music was performed at the shrine of Fátima, an important place of pilgrimage for Catholics from all over the world. The Lisbon Gregorian Choir, directed by Armando Possante, and the Alpha Ensemble, directed by Ivan Moody, gave a concert entitled "The Virgin Mary in the Latin Monodic Tradition and the Orthodox Liturgy", which inaugurated a concert series called the Cycle of Sacred Music. The performance was an important bridge between Catholic and Orthodox traditions.

2 Svetlana Poliakova et al., *Música Russa: Um Breve Panorama* (Lisboa: Público, Centro Cultural de Belém, 2001).

Christian music from Eastern Europe has had an increasing presence in prestigious music venues and groups in Portugal. At the Casa da Música in Oporto, the main music venue in the north of Portugal, the programme for 2016 was dedicated to Russian music, with the title “Year of Russia”. It opened with Rachmaninov’s *All-Night Vigil*, Op. 37, performed by the choir of the Casa da Música, directed by Paul Hillier. Music from Eastern Europe was also included in a cycle called “Around the Baroque”, with a concert entitled “Celestial Powers” showcasing music from the 16th and 17th centuries, including the polyphonic work *Today Christ Was Born in Bethlehem* by Demestvenny and *Three Sacred Hymns* by Alfred Schnittke, as well as works by Vassily Titov, Giuseppe Sarti, Dmitry Bortniansky, Tchaikovsky and Stravinsky.

In Lisbon, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, established by Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, a philanthropist of Armenian origin, is key to the promotion of culture and science in Portugal. The Foundation hosts the Gulbenkian Choir, one of the most prestigious choirs in Portugal, which was founded more than fifty years ago and has sung with renowned orchestras and distinguished conductors from all over the world. 2018 was the 30th anniversary of the Music Festival in São Roque, which promotes Portuguese performers through a series of concerts, with affordable tickets, in the Church of São Roque, a Jesuit church built in the 16th century, richly decorated with Mannerist and Baroque elements. For the festival, the Gulbenkian Choir interpreted *All-Night Vigil*, Op. 37 by Rachmaninov in an unprecedented way. The choir’s singing was interspersed with improvisations on the organ, diverging from the Orthodox musical tradition by including an instrument. However, this was not the only time that Orthodox sacred music was included in the festival. In another edition, in 2012, the Capella Duriensis ensemble, known mainly for promoting Portuguese sacred music under the direction of Jonathan Ayerst, performed music from the Russian Orthodox Church.

It is also important to mention the work of academic choirs. The Romanos Melodos Academic Choir came out of a course called Musics of the World - Russian Choir Practices, part of the BA in Musicology at Nova University, Lisbon, and taught by Professor Svetlana Poliakova. This choir has given concerts since 2012, both in Lisbon – in various churches and cultural institutions, such as the Museum of Portuguese Music – and in other parts of the country, particularly in the interior.

In 2018, as part of a project called Eastern Christian Singing in Portugal, organized by the Centre for the Study of Sociology and Musical Aesthetics (CESEM) at Nova University in Lisbon, the choir took part in a concert in collaboration with Fr Ivan Moody and the parish choir of the parish of St John the Russian of Estoril. In the summer of 2019, the Romanos Melodos choir gave a joint concert with the Chamber Choir of the University of Lisbon; both choirs sang key works of Orthodox sacred music and the Romanos Melodos choir also sang some Byzantine monodic chants. That year the Chamber Choir of the University of Lisbon included Orthodox works in several of its programmes, alongside sacred music from Catholic and Protestant traditions.

It should be noted that the repertoire performed by Portuguese choirs consists mainly of compositions from the second half of the 17th century onwards, not only because they are a popular part of the history of European music, but also because they are already in a notation accessible to Western non-specialist

performers. Although not all the concerts of Orthodox sacred music held in Portugal are mentioned in this text, it can be seen that these repertoires have become increasingly present. Both international and Portuguese choirs, well-known and less well-known, have participated in this dissemination, performing Eastern Christian music both in sacred spaces and in large concert halls. The fact that these concerts are often free of charge has been an important aspect of attracting a diverse audience.

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III THE MODERN CONTEXT: TEXTS

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is integrated in a pioneering project with the objectives of creating an overall panorama of the expressions of Orthodox chant in Portugal, in a plurality of contexts, and of establishing specific strategies for future projects.

As in other countries of Western Europe, the establishment of Orthodox parishes and the establishment of Orthodoxy as part of the religious expression of Portugal has meant an increased need for theological and liturgical texts in the language of the country. Several translation projects have been undertaken over the years, usually with little coordination, so that there exist, for example, a number of translations of the Divine Liturgy and other services in use by the various jurisdictions represented.

The translation of the texts in this project is intended to be useful to the Orthodox communities that celebrate in Portugal. It is undertaken through the preparation and publication of a set of scores, with texts in Portuguese and/or in transliteration from Greek or Slavonic) of the fixed parts of the Liturgy, Vespers and Matins, the Sunday Octoechos and the propers for the most important feasts (bringing together repertoires from the Churches of several countries and different stylistic tendencies). In this particular context, even if the translation of the Word is in accordance with the tradition of the Church and the faith it professes, the work of adapting the vernacular text to the original melodies represents a time-consuming and rigorous task.

The current panorama relies on a multi-linguistic (Slavic, Greek, English, Portuguese) and multi-alphabetical (Cyrillic, Greek, Latin) repertoire often assembled through an amalgamation of annotated photocopies (sometimes of poor quality) or manuscripts with different handwritings.

To change this panorama, I share in this paper some of our guidelines and practical criteria for the musical adaptation of the original melodies to the Portuguese translations.

With a special focus on musical texts, I also look briefly at the translation of liturgical texts since the musical texts intend to respond to liturgical texts.

METHODOLOGY

A mixed methodology was adopted. In first place we chose the “Documentary analysis” method,¹ which allowed us to obtain a solid description of a phenomenon² starting with identification, selection, data collection and verification (research heuristics). It also allowed the collection of interpretations in different written sources, in traditional or digital formats, to give them meaning (hermeneutics of research), with the purpose of developing empirical knowledge.³ Secondly, we adopted an ethnographic, personally devised methodology in the sense that if “ethnography is deeply personal and positioned, then it is also deeply subjective.”⁴ This allowed us to adopt a positivistic paradigm in which the investigators’ experience and position are a support base for their considered options and choices.

CONTEXT OF THE TRANSLATION OF PORTUGUESE TEXTS

The Word of God is the centre of Christian prayer and the primary reason why Christians come together in community. This was how the first Christians, “who were regulars in the teaching of the Apostles, in fraternal union, in the breaking of bread and in prayers” (Acts 2, 42), joined in community. Just as they had been with Jesus through reading (proclamation) (Lk 4, 16) and singing (Mt 26, 30), the Word of God guarantees His presence among the faithful, just as He had promised his disciples (Mt 18, 20).

The translation of the Word of God has been an old practice since the Jewish traditions and “for over 2,300 years, Jews, as individuals or as committees, have produced versions of the entire Hebrew Bible or only of the Torah in the vernacular language of the major populations in which they resided.”⁵ In fact, “the first translations of the Bible, the Septuagint (from Hebrew into Greek) and the Targums (from Hebrew into Aramaic), were prepared by Jews for Jews.”⁶

1 G.A. Bowen, “Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method,” *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, no. 2 (2009): 27-29.

2 R. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995); R. Yin, *Estudo de Caso: Planejamento e Métodos*. 4.a. (Porto Alegre: Bookman, 2010).

3 Bowen, “Document analysis”, 27; J. Corbin and A. Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008).

4 Elizabeth Campbell and Luke Eric Lassiter, *Doing Ethnography Today* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015).

5 Leonard J. Greenspoon, “Jewish Bible Translations.” Last modified May 26, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1093/OBO/9780199840731-0129>.

6 Ibid.

Thus also the translation of liturgical texts into the Portuguese language had the same origin: a practical sense that was “intended for use alongside the original Hebrew rather than as a replacement for it” totally.⁷

Orthodox translations into Portuguese appear with the aim of being able to celebrate the liturgy correctly, but not exclusively in Portuguese. The liturgy was always intended to be celebrated in several languages. Thus, the translations do not have the authority duality original versus explanatory/accessible vernacular language, as in the old translations.⁸ The polyglot dimension of the liturgy above all responds and provides a sense of belonging to the ecclesiastical community that is multicultural, multinational. Translation, by exegesis, by linguistic, theological and pastoral study, is intended to have the same authority as any other language: the authority of the Word of God.

For this reason, Fr Ivan Moody and Susana Moody started and have been working on translating the liturgical texts in order to be able correctly to celebrate the Orthodox liturgy in Portugal. This has resulted in some documents published by Ivan Moody on his website, initially with the copyright of *Greek Orthodox Church of Portugal, Parish of St. Nektarios and St. Gregory V (Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople)*, where you can find the Portuguese translations of *The Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* (2001a), *Sacrament of Marriage* (2000), *Mnimóssinon* (2001c), *The Akáthistos Hymn and Small Compline* (2001b), *Ascension Thursday, Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* (2002) and *Christmas Eve 24 December Great Vespers (from 25 December)* (2001). One can also find the *Office of the Triumph of Orthodoxy* (2015) with the copyright of *St. John the Russian Orthodox Parish (Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople), Estoril, Portugal*.

We can also find some texts published on Fr Alexandre Bonito’s website: *The Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, Christmas Eve 24 December Great Vespers (from 25 December), Sacrament of marriage and Mnimóssinon (Panikhida - Requiem)*.⁹

A quick search on online search engines¹⁰ quickly allows us to note the dispersion of translations of prayers or liturgies, with different authorities and “backstage jobs”:

- Sperandio, André. *Rito de Jerusalém – A Divina Liturgia de S. Tiago, Irmão Do Senhor*. Edited by João Manuel Sperandio and Paulo Augusto Tamanini. Teresina: Editora da Universidade Federal de PiauÍ, 2016.¹¹
- Igreja Ortodoxa Russa, Patriarcado de Moscou. “A Divina Liturgia – Liturgia Dos Catecúmenos.” *Missão Ortodoxa Da Proteção Da Mãe de Deus*. 2016.¹²
- Thomaz, Luís Filipe. *Missal Ortodoxo – Horas do Ofício Divino e Liturgia Eucarística*. 2019. Edited by Pedro Pruteanu. Associação Lusortodoxia.
- Bishop Alexander [Mileant] (Russian Orthodox Church Abroad). “Божественная Литургия – A Divina Liturgia.” *Fatheralexander.Org*. Last modified 1999.¹³

Although two of these entries correspond to translations for Brazil, the possibility of finding translations from different sources in the Portuguese is clear.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Alexandre Bonito, “Textos Litúrgicos Ortodoxos.” Accessed May 20, 2020. <http://p035454545.planetaclix.pt/Textos.html>.

10 Research conducted at 21/05/2020 on Google with the Portuguese translation of the terms: “Portuguese orthodox liturgical texts”.

11 <https://www.ecclesia.com.br/biblioteca/liturgia/doc-pdf/a-liturgia-de-sao-tiago-pt3-.pdf>.

12 <https://protecaodamaededeus.org/files/Liturgia-site-03-2016.pdf>.

13 http://www.fatheralexander.org/booklets/portuguese/liturgy_russian_portuguese.htm.

TRANSLATION FOR MUSICAL ADAPTATION

As is well known, Christian prayer is diverse, praying and singing words that come from different sources: biblical sources and inspired sources. These are two different situations that may require two different solutions. A conceptual doubt can be raised in relation to textual sources: Since the chants convey words of biblical or inspired origins, can the adaptation of the chant have different criteria of rigidity in the words? Regardless of the criteria for the translation of liturgical texts, music has its own criteria of translation and adaptation.

In the first place, the poetic dimension should be highlighted. Poetics can be more or less present in the quality of the translation,. In everything it impels the prayer to enter the mystery of prayer, the transcendence of beauty manifests itself in the words and in the sound that resonates in the prayer. The Book of Psalms is a clear case of a biblical source that has a poetic, musical, expressive and interpretive nature that is so often explicit in the first verse of many psalms. This book clearly requires that its translation be done “with art and with soul” (Ps 33, 3).¹⁴

Let us compare the short psalm 131 (130), where the various translations make it possible to understand the possible differences in the poetic dimension.

TABLE 1: TWO PORTUGUESE TRANSLATIONS OF PSALM 130 (131)

Divine Office according to the Roman Rite (Secretariado Nacional de Liturgia 2016, 1181)	João Ferreira de Almeida’s Bible ¹⁵ (2000, 631)
<p>¹Senhor, não se eleva soberbo o meu coração, nem se levantam altivos os meus olhos. Não ambiciono grandezas, nem coisas superiores a mim. ²Antes fico sossegado e tranquilo, como criança ao colo da mãe. ³Espera, Israel, no Senhor, agora e para sempre.</p>	<p>¹Senhor, o meu coração não se elevou, nem os meus olhos se levantaram: não me exercito em grandes assuntos, nem em coisas muito elevadas para mim. ²Decerto fiz calar e sossegar a minha alma: qual criança desmamada para com sua mãe, tal é a minha alma para comigo. ³Espere Israel no Senhor, desde agora e para sempre.</p>

For Portuguese readers, in the Catholic version for the Divine Office, the poetics of this psalm is more involved in the affectionate and tender mystery of a maternal lullaby for her child (Ps 131, 1: “Instead I am calm and peaceful, / as a child on his mother’s lap”)¹⁶ compared to a translation that focuses on an attitude of obliging oneself to silence and stillness (Ps 131, 1: “I certainly made my soul to be quiet and settle down: like a child weaned from its mother, such is my soul towards me”).¹⁷ João Ferreira de Almeida’s translation is perhaps more literal, conveying more the idea of movement denial (Ps 131, 2: “I do not concern myself with great matters”)¹⁸

14 Translation from Secretariado Nacional de Liturgia, *Ofício Divino Segundo o Rito Romano*, 917.

15 “João Ferreira de Almeida, first Bible translator in Portuguese; he was born in 1628 in the small village of Torre de Tavares, near Mangualde” and started translating the Bible at the age of 16 on the island of Java Indonesia (Almeida 2000, i).

16 “Antes fico sossegado e tranquilo, / como criança ao colo da mãe” (Secretariado Nacional de Liturgia 2016, 1181).

17 “Decerto fiz calar e sossegar a minha alma: qual criança desmamada para com sua mãe, tal é a minha alma para comigo” (Almeida 2000, 631).

18 “Não me exercito em grandes assuntos” (Almeida 2000, 631).

instead of denying desires (Ps 131, 2: "I do not aim for greatness")¹⁹. Comparing these two and more translations, one can realize that according to the music different criteria can impose themselves, whether the melody is *harsher* or more *caring*.

Not only psalms, but also Old and New Testament chants, the apocalypses, the poems of St Paul, the Magnificat and Benedictus, are wrapped in that poetic dimension that elevates the prayer to contemplate God through the beauty of the sung Word. Just as biblical sources, so inspired sources, such as the hymns, must express poetics.

Secondly, the texts themselves need some plasticity in modelling themselves to the original melody, just as the original melody can be more or less flexible in the way it is adapted to the translated text. In the context of this project, the processes to facilitate the adaptation of Orthodox communities to the Portuguese language are important, promoting the conservation of the original melody and arrangement as much as possible, thus facilitating the choirs' natural processes as described by James Chater: "music must first be learned, then practiced and then prayed."²⁰ Such process will imply paying attention to the measures undertaken to adapt the text to the pre-existing melodies already sung and prayed by the communities in Greek, Slavonic, English or any other significant language in each community.

This practice is widely used in the chants of the Taizé Community. With an Orthodox cultural and theological syncretism, some Orthodox chants can be found in Taizé's repertoire, such as *Bogoroditse Dievo*, *Exomologisthe to Kyrio*,²¹ and others. Jacques Berthier affirmed that "In [...] short pieces, the music is strongly tied to the text, its rhythmic structure and colour of the syllables. To change the text would, in most cases, mean weakening the specific message of the music."²² But Judith Kubicki explains that the reality was different:

Different language groups who have visited Taizé or become acquainted with its music have worked on 'unofficial' translations. These have been done with varying degrees of expertise. As a result, greater efforts have been made to guarantee more careful translations. The final results, however, are not literal translations and sometimes not even dynamic equivalents. Rather, the same prayer sentiments are often expressed in very different ways.²³

The adaptation of the text to the melody must firstly respect the original melody and its interpretative tradition so that the community when faced with the work can pray it without a shock to their common practice. This rule is strongly observed in Taizé's translations, since the original melodies are unaltered in any official translation. For our project, the original melody can be flexible with regard to the translated text. In doing so, it must still fulfill musical and musicological criteria and respect the original composition.

19 "Não ambiciono grandezas" (Secretariado Nacional de Liturgia 2016, 1181).

20 James Chater, "Staying Awake at the Wheel, Some Thoughts on Arranging and Composing Orthodox Church Music," in *The Traditions of the Orthodox Music* (Joensuu: University of Joensuu & The International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2005), 66.

21 Taizé Community, "Bogoroditse Dievo 2 (Богородице Деве)." Last modified 2015a. <https://www.taize.fr/spip.php?page=chant&song=1371&lang=en>; "Exomologisthe to Kyrio." Last modified 2015b. <https://www.taize.fr/spip.php?page=chant&song=4634&lang=pt>.

22 Judith Marie Kubicki, *Liturgical Music as Ritual Symbol: A Case Study of Jacques Berthier's Taizé Music* (Paris: Peeters Publishers, 1999), 85.

23 Kubicki, *Liturgical Music*, 86.

PRACTICAL QUESTIONS OF MUSICAL ADAPTATION

In general terms, the adaptation of the Portuguese text to the original metric results in several different scenarios, with melodies whose textual correspondence can be psalmodic, melismatic, neumatic or/and syllabic. We guided our adaptations by three practical criteria: 1) matching the syllabic tonic to the melodic tonic, 2) recognizing and maintaining the essential rhetoric and tradition of music and 3) preferring the *singability* and diction of sounds of Portuguese pronunciation. The first and third are general vocal music criteria.

As a proclaimed word that intends to be understood by those who proclaim it and by those who hear it, a preference for the correspondence of the syllabic tonic with the melodic tonic applies. This implies decision-making on a case-by-case basis, melody to melody, since words as common as *Господь*, *Κύριε*, *Senhor*, *Lord* e *πομιλυϊ*, *ἐλέησον*, *misericórdia*, *have mercy* have different tones and can be oxytones, paroxytones or proparoxytones. Even so, in the Portuguese tradition, as in the others, some prayers have several variants with the same meaning, as is the case of the example given where in a supplication it can be said as *Senhor, misericórdia*; or *Senhor, tende piedade*; or *Senhor, tende piedade de nós* among many other pleas for forgiveness that can be adapted to the liturgical occasion, such as: *Perdoai-nos, Senhor* or *Cristo, misericórdia*.

EXAMPLE 1: JUXTAPOSITION MARKED BY A LIGATURE OR UNDERScore UNDER THE TEXT²⁴

EU SOU O PÃO VIVO (2) 111

EU SOU O PÃO VIVO (2)
Com.

Refrão Andante religioso

Eu sou o pão vi - vo des - ci - do Céu; quem de - le co -
mer vi - ve - rá e - ter - na - men - te: to - mai e co - mei.

Versículos

1. Meu Pai é quem vos dá o pão do Céu.
2. Isto é o meu Corpo entre - gue por vós.
3. Se não comerdes a Carne do Fi lho do homem,
4. A minha Carne é verdadei - ra co - mida,
5. Quem come a minha carne e be - be o meu Sangue
6. O pão de Deus é o que des - ce do Céu,

1. Só Eu posso dar a vi - da_ao mun - do.
2. Este é o cálice da No - va_A - li - an - ça.
3. não tereis a vi - da_em vós. -
4. o meu Sangue é verda - dei - ra be - bi - da.
5. permanece em Mim e Eu ne - le.
6. para dar a vi - da_ao mun - do.

In any case, the adaptation in the four syllabic correspondences has common features that can be identified and registered according to their methodologies. In psalmodic correspondence, the aim is to match the syllable tonic to the melodic tonic. The task is easy since there is a great deal of freedom to lengthen the recitation tone by the number of syllables necessary to make this correspondence, and in each case, one can decide to make an elision/agglutination or a juxtaposition of some syllables to result in a speech-like pronunciation. This often happens in Catholic liturgical music, marked by a ligature or underscore under the text for a juxtaposition (*example 1*) or an apostrophe for an agglutination (*example 2*).

EXAMPLE 2: AGGLUTINATION MARKED BY AN APOSTROPHE²⁵

À VOSSA DIREITA 21

À VOSSA DIREITA
SR – Assunção BVM

Refrão



À Vos - sa di - rei - ta, Se - nhor, a Ra - i - nha do
céu, or - na - da do ou - ro mais fi - no.

Salmo 44



1. Ao vosso encontro vêm filhas de reis,
2. Ouve, filha, vê e presta_a - ten - ção,
3. De tua beleza se enamo - ra_o Rei,

1. à vossa direita, a rainha ornada com ou - ro d'O - fir.
2. esquece o teu povo e a casa de teu pai.
3. Ele é o teu Senhor, presta - lhe_ho - me - nagem.

In the case of melismatic chants, textual adaptation follows less free criteria, as there is a need to recite a fixed text with a fixed melody. However, the melismatic texture makes it possible to blend the syllabic tonic, with the melodic tones standing out. However, the syllabic difference of the translation, as is the case of Господь, Боже, Κύριε, Senhor or Lord, can imply differences in the interpretation, with there being a need to separate a melisma into two syllables or to lengthen

two to a single syllable. Although some syllabic differences are decisive in the characterization of the melisma, such joints or cuts are frequently necessary.

In neumatic chants, there are two different kinds of melodies: strophic neumatic melodies, which apply to different phrases/hemistychiae and melodies that are not repeated. In the strophic case, the adaptation of the text to those neumatic forms becomes freer, with melodic formulas that are divided to incorporate more or fewer syllables within the same number of notes, with the obligation to keep some sets of notes without division for maintaining the interpretive and compositional tradition of music.

In the adaptation of *Blazhen Muzh*, these cases are manifest: in *example 3* we notice that two notes are eliminated without changing the melody, because it is between equal notes (the psalmodic-like case). Also in this example, the neumes were able to maintain their original form. Contrarily, *example 4* has the neume marked in blue cut syllabically. This happens so that at the beginning of the verse only two notes need to be added and the metrics of the word *per-di-ção* that are short-short-long, do not alter significantly as shown in *example 5*. The cutting of that neume also privileges the syllabic tonic match to the last neume.

25 da Silva, *Orar Cantando*, 21.

EXAMPLE 3: BLAZHEN MUZH “PSALMODIC” MELODY ADAPTATION. UNALTERED NEUMES²⁶

Legend: Removed note Unaltered neum

EXAMPLE 4: BLAZHEN MUZH “PSALMODIC” MELODY ADAPTATION. ALTERED NEUMES²⁷

Legend: Added note, Unaltered neum, Altered neum

26 Обиход одногосный церковного богослужбного пения по напеву Валаамского монастыря 1902, 4; arrangement by the author.

27 Обиход одногосный церковного богослужбного пения по напеву Валаамского монастыря 1902, 4; arrangement by the author.

EXAMPLE 5: BLAZHEN MUZH “PSALMODIC” MELODY ADAPTATION. UNALTERED NEUMES.²⁸

Mas o ca-mi-nho dos - im - pios con-duz à per-di - ção - - -

Versus

Mas o ca-mi-nho dos im-pios con - duz - à per-di - - ção - -

EXAMPLE 6: BOGORÓDITSE DEVO’S COMPARED ADAPTATIONS²⁹

Bo - go - ró - di - tse De - vo, rá - duy - sia, Bla - go - dát - na - ya Ma - ri - ye
 A - le - grai - vos, ó Vir - gem, Mãe de Deus, Ma - ria - a chei - a de gra - ça
 A - le - gra - te ó Vir - gem, Mãe de Deus, Ma - ria - a chei - a de gra - ça

Gho - spód - - sTo - bo - yu Bla - go - sloo - vén - na Tī - vzhe - náh
 O Se - nhor - - é con - vosco Ben - di - ta sois vós en - tre as mu - lheres
 O Se - nhor - - é con - tigo Ben - di - ta és tu en - tre as mu - lheres

i - bla - go - slo - vén - Plod - chré vo - sso va Tvo - ye - gó
 e ben - di - to é o fru - to do do - sso ven - tre Je - sus
 e ben - di - to é o fru - to do do - sso ven - tre Je - sus

yá - ko Spa - sa ro - di - lá ye sí dush ná - shih
 Pois de Vós - nas - ceu o - no - sso sal - va - dor
 Pois de Ti - nas - ceu o - no - sso sal - va - dor

Legend: ■ Added note

EXAMPLE 7: BOGORÓDITSE DEVO’S MATCHING OF SYLLABLE TONIC TO MELODIC TONIC VERSIONS³⁰

28 Обиход одногласный церковного богослужебного пения по напеву Валаамского монастыря 1902, 4; arrangement by the author.

29 Arrangement by the author.

30 Arrangement by the author.

Version 1

O Se - nhor - é con - tigo

Versus

Version 2

O Se - nhor - é con - ti - go

Versus

Version 3

O Se - nhor - é con - ti - go

Versus

Version 3a

O Se - nhor - é con - ti - go

As to respect for musical tradition, a clear example is *Bogoróditse Devo*³¹. At the words *Gho-spód-s To-bo-yu* the words *O Se-nhor é con-ti-go* have two extra syllables [Music example 6]. Whilst one of them can be easily introduced in the first neume/ two notes, the seventh extra syllable could be also not considered, since they are poetic syllables and the tonic is *contigo*. Alas, this does not coincide with the melodic tonic (*example 7 – Version 1*), and thus one has to add another note to make B the melodic tonic. In this case, a triplet could still make the G-G-A respect the original melodic timing and give a very smooth and practical pronunciation (*Version 2*). But the division of the unitary note does not correspond to the repertoire of the Ascension Monastery of the Moscow Kremlin’s tradition, which leads us to choose *Version 3a*.

Even with these practical criteria, adaptation must show some plasticity according to the investigator’s position and experience. An example may be seen where I personally prefer not to respect the tonic’s concordance (*Version 2*) but respect the rhythm of the original melody instead (*Version 1*) in *Bogoróditse Devo*’s word *Maria* (*example 8*). This practice is not uncommon, since it happens often in Catholic hymns where the strophic melody overlaps the syllabic tonic (*example 9*).

31 The version considered is traditionally attributed to the repertoire of the Ascension Monastery of the Moscow Kremlin founded in the 14th century and destroyed in 1929.

EXAMPLE 8: BOGORÓDITSE DEVO'S CRITERIA'S ADAPTABILITY³²

A - le - gra - te_ó Vir - gem, Mãe de Deus, Ma - ri - a chei - a de gra - ça

Versus

A - le - gra - te_ó Vir - gem, Mãe de Deus, Ma - ria chei - a de gra - ça

EXAMPLE 9: NO SYLLABIC TONIC CORRESPONDENCE WITH MELODIC TONIC IN STROPHIC CHANTS³³

Sabedoria infinita

Estrofes M. Luís

Sa-be-do-ria in-fi-ni-ta, Vin-de já ao nos-so
mun-do En-si-nar-nos o ca-mi-nho
Da sal-va-ção e da gra-ça. En-si-nar-nos o ca-
mi-nho da sal-va-ção e da gra-ça.

3. **Vós** que sois luz infinita, / Vinde já ao nosso mundo
Iluminar a cegueira / Para **vermos** o caminho.
4. **Pa**lavra do amor de Deus, / Vinde já ao nosso mundo.
Nascei, **Senhor**, na minh' alma. / E ficai **p'ra** todo o sempre.

Legend: ■ Melodictonic 1, ■ Melodictonic 2, ■ Melodic tonic 3, ■ Syllabictonic

CONCLUSION

The modern context allows us to notice that there are several versions of Portuguese liturgical texts and the texts of some chants. Relying on good translations, we can advance to the adaptation of the chants. The three practical criteria we adopted are strong guidelines that allow us to obtain good musical results. The exceptions and particularities that arise in each chant must be approached case-by-case. In each

³² Arrangement by the author.

³³ *Liturgia Das Horas, Edição Para Canto* 2003, II:16-17.

case these criteria, original melody and text must present some plasticity so that adaptation is the best possible. We also recognize that the adaptations are constructed in a laboratory environment and only after taking them to the communities and the choirs can we become fully aware of some aspects of each work.

Although these tasks are not a novelty and have been undertaken for a long time by many people, the repertoire needs a compilation, transliteration and translation of good quality and reliable editions for publication and dissemination throughout Portuguese Orthodox communities. This project will be able to provide them.

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Обиход одноголосный церковного богослужебного пения по напеву Валаамского монастыря. Vol. I-III. S. Petersburg, 1902.



THE NEW LEIMŌNARION COMPOSED BY IOANNIS KAVADAS, A 19TH-CENTURY PROTOPSALTIS OF CHIOS AN UNKNOWN WORK AWAITING PERFORMANCE

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The subject of this paper is the contents of a bulky manuscript discovered in a private collection three years ago (2017).¹ (Figure 1) It is a beautiful manuscript of 767 pages written in two hands. The first hand belongs to Yangos (Ioannis) Kavadas, 1st Chanter of Chios (mid-19th century – 1897),² who wrote pages 1-549. (Figure 2)

The second hand, which wrote pages 550-710, belongs to his student Antonios Malleas, a chanter, calligrapher and bookbinder.³ (Figure 3) Thus the manuscript is divided into two distinct parts based on their scribes; as we shall see, the two parts also differ in their contents.

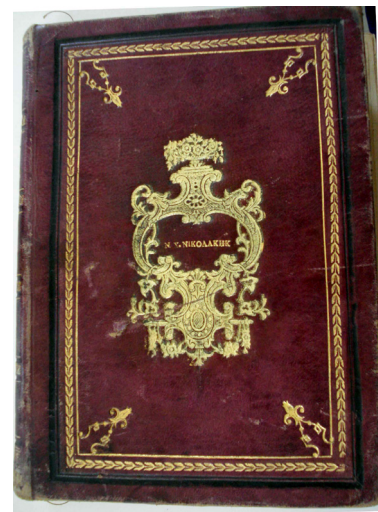


Figure 1. Musical Manuscript
“Apanthisma-Leimōnarion”

1 The owner of the collection kindly asked not to be named. A digital copy of this manuscript is found in my digital archive of musical manuscripts.

2 Concerning Yangos Kavadas, see Michael Stroumpakēs, “Η διδασκαλία της ἐκκλησιαστικῆς βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς στὴ Χίο κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τοῦ 19ου αἰῶνα.” *Ἰν Πρακτικὰ Συνεδρίου: Ἑλληνικὰ Ἱστορικὰ Ἐκπαιδευτήρια στὴ Μεσόγειο ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα μέχρι σήμερα Χίος 18-21/10/2001*, edited by Τασούλα Μανδάλια (Ἀθήνα: Ὑπουργεῖο Παιδείας, Ἐρευνας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων-Γενικὴ Γραμματεία Διὰ βίου μάθησης καὶ Νέας Γενιάς, 2002), 346-362 & idem, “Ζητήματα μελοποιίας καὶ σημειογραφίας στὸ ἔργο τοῦ Πρωτοψάλτη Χίου Ἰωάννη Καβάδα (1817-1899), *Βελλᾶ Ἐπιστημονικῆ Ἐπετηρίδα* no. 8 (β', 2017): 889-906.

3 Malleas was born in the mid-19th century and died in 1936, donating to the Koraēs Central Library of Chios a good number of manuscripts containing pieces set to music by his teacher Yangos Kavadas, himself or others. A detailed description of these manuscripts (no 2024, MB 1, MB 8, MB 9, MB 11, MB 16 & MB 17) can be found in the forthcoming edition of the Descriptive Catalogue of Musical Manuscripts of the Chios Library ‘Koraēs’; see Michael Stroumpakēs, *Χειρόγραφα τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης. Χίος. Α' Ἀναλυτικὸς Περιγραφικὸς Κατάλογος τῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης τῆς Δημόσιας Κεντρικῆς Ἱστορικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Χίου ‘Κοραῆς’* (Ἡράκλειον: 2020), 395-406, 408-471.

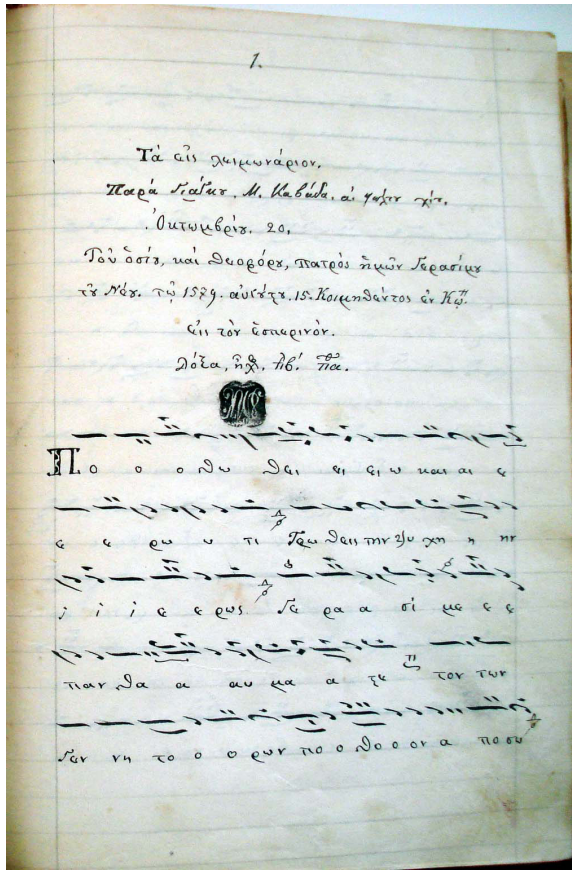


Figure 2: The part of “Leimōnariou” written by Kavadas

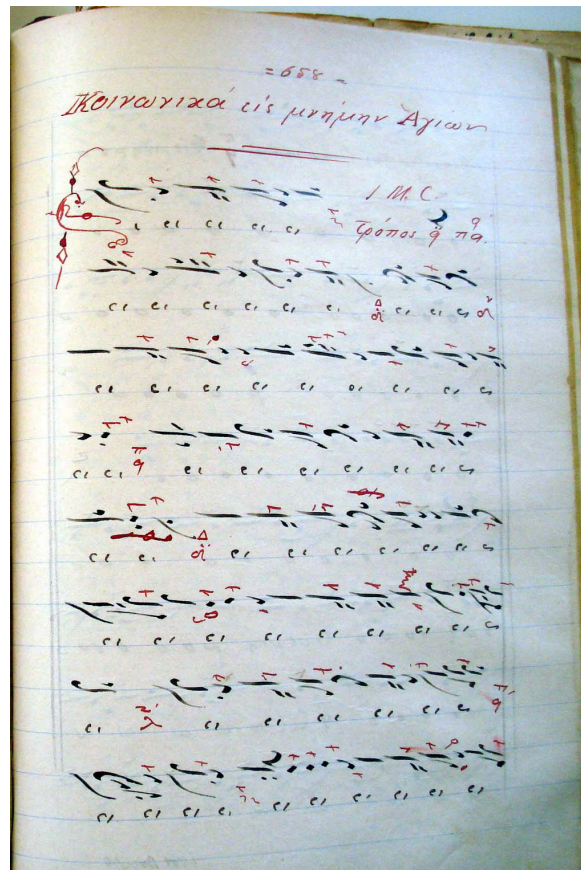


Figure 3: The part written by Antonios Malleas

The title on the back of the book contains the word “Apanthisma” (Bloom), referring to many fragrant flowers. Metaphorically it means a florilegium of the best hymns

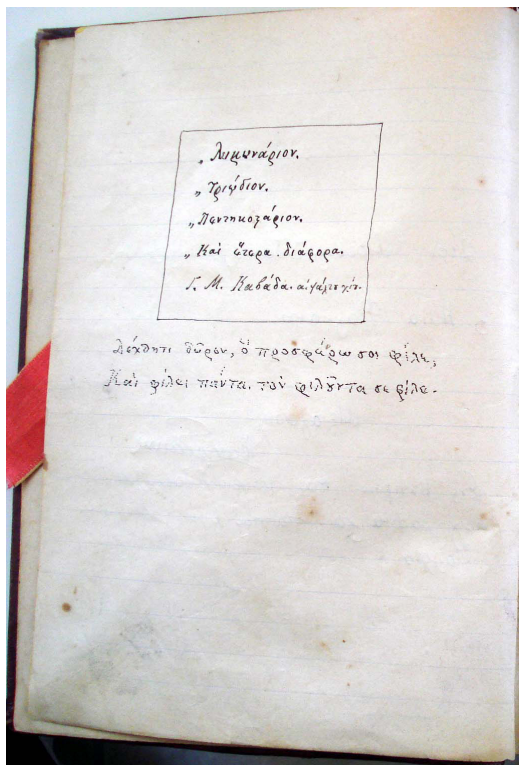


Figure 4: The title of the 1st part

and compositions. The first part of the manuscript, by Yangos Kavadas, is entitled by the scribe “Leimōnariou. Triodion. Pentecostarion. And various other works. By I.M. Kavadas, first chanter of Chios”. (Figure 4) On the next page, the codex note leaves no doubt as to the creator of the compositions included: “The Doxastika and various other hymns which are included in the ‘Leimōnariou’, as well as the Cheroubikon and the works contained in this book, were accented and written by the music master Yangos M. Kavadas, from the village of Chalkios in Kampos, and first chanter of the Holy Metropolis of Chios.” The manuscript was written and dedicated “To the eternal memory of my friend, Mr Nikolaos the Chanter, in proof of cordial love and friendship”. Finally, Kavadas states the exact date of completion of the work, 17 December 1887, followed by his

seal. (Figure 5) The second part, written by Antonios Malleas, includes compositions by Yangos Kavadas and can be regarded as complementary to the first part since it contains Doxastikon as well as other pieces for Vespers, Matins and the Divine Liturgy. The fact that the second part is a supplement to the first is stated in the note on page 564: “Supplementary Appendix of Ecclesiastical Music Courses, composed by Ioannis Kavadas, first Chanter of Chios.” The text continues in French: “Par main Ant. Malleas” (by the hand of Antonios Malleas) and is dated 4th April 1901. (Figure 6) In its original form, the manuscript consisted only of the section by Yangos Kavadas. Later, after it had come into the possession of the calligrapher and bookbinder Antonios Malleas, it was bound together with his manuscript.

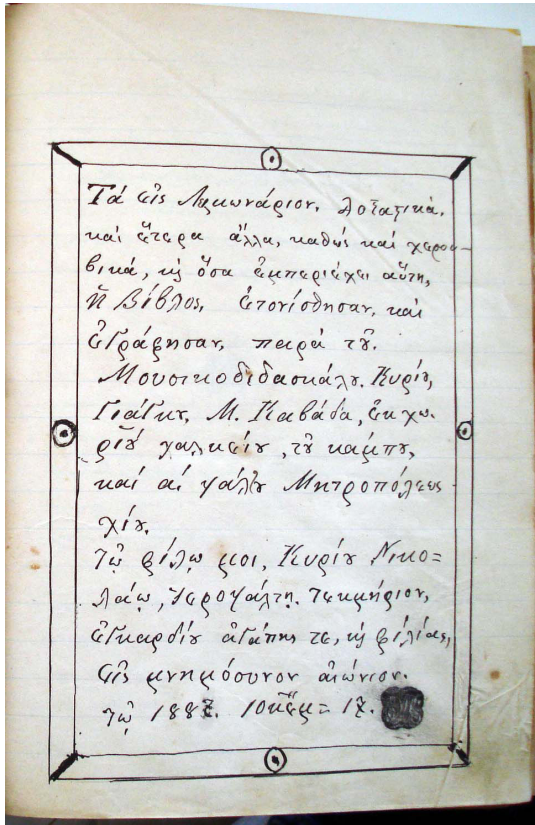


Figure 5: The detailed note of the 1st part

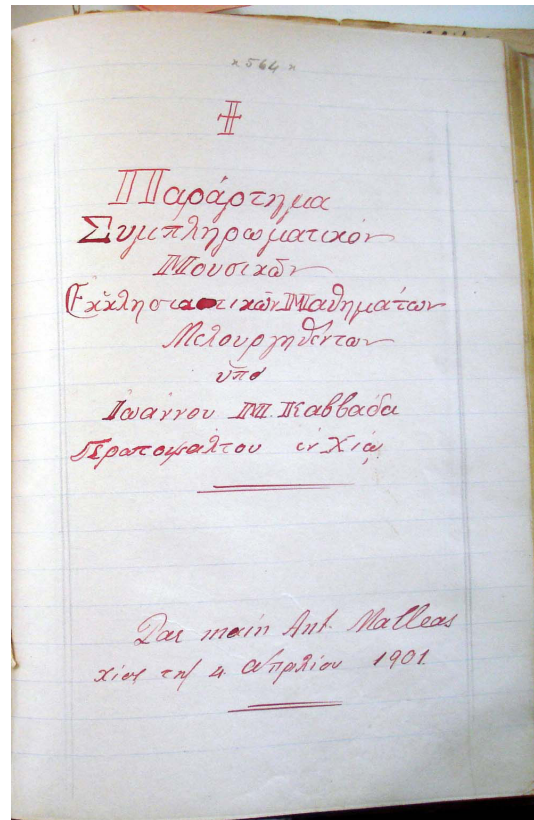


Figure 6: The title of the 2nd part by Antonios Malleas

It is important to say that this manuscript is the only one known by Kavadas to contain the main subject-matter of Part I, the Doxastikon of the Leimōnarion.⁴ The word “Leimōnarion” is repeated at the end of page 196, where Kavadas writes: “End of the works included in the Leimōnarion. [written] By the hand of Kavadas. First Chanter of Chios”. According to the above note, as well as the aforementioned title note of the manuscript, the liturgical texts come from the *Leimōnarion*.

But what is the *Leimōnarion* mentioned above and what makes it so important to us? If we consult Dēmētrakos’s dictionary, the word Λειμών (leimon) means a flowering, verdant place, while the diminutive “leimonarion” means a small meadow. In ecclesiastical language, a “Leimōnarion” is a monastic book of lives of the ascetics which also contains various other narratives and proverbs.⁵

4 On the other hand, the other melodies of Part I are found in at least three or four manuscripts by the same author, Yangos Kavadas. A detailed list of compositions and manuscripts of Yangos Kavadas is to be prepared for a monograph concerning his life and work

5 Cf. Dēmētrios Dēmētrakos, *Μέγα Λεξικόν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης. Δημοτικῆ/Καθαρεύουσα/Μεσαιωνικῆ/Μεταγενεστέρᾳ/Ἀρχαία*. Vol. H' (Ἀθήνα: Ἐκδόσεις ΔΟΜΗ Α.Ε., χ.χ.), 4283.

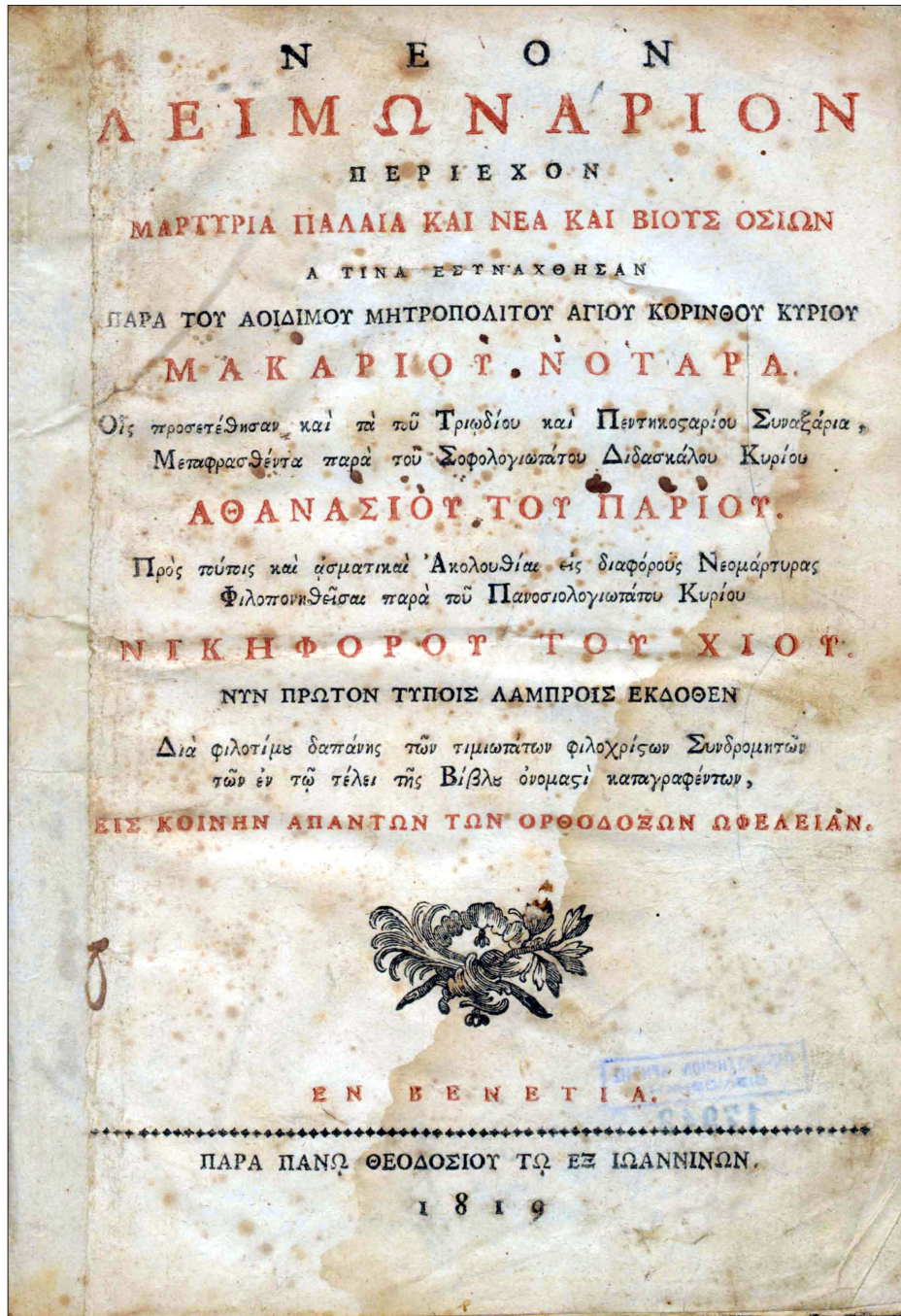


Figure 7: Neon Leimōnarion 1819, the frontispiece of the edition

In 1819 the *New Leimōnarion* was published in Venice by St Nikephoros of Chios.⁶ (Figure 7) According to the frontispiece, the *New Leimōnarion* includes “old and new ordeals and lives of saints”. In other words, it includes the lives of recent saints of the Church and narratives of wonders and miracles (mainly from the 15th century onwards) and of more recent, newly revealed martyrs. Recent martyrs are

6 Nichēphoros of Chios, ed., *Νέον Λειμωνάριον περιέχον Μαρτύρια παλαιὰ καὶ νέα καὶ βίους ὀσίων ἅτινα ἐσνάχθησαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Μητροπολίτου Αγίου Κορίνθου Κυρίου Μακαρίου Νοταρᾶ. Οἱς προσετέθησαν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Τριωδίου καὶ Πεντηκοσταρίου Συναξάρια, μεταφρασθέντα παρὰ τοῦ Σοφολογιώτατου Διδασκάλου Κυρίου Αθανασίου τοῦ Παρίου. Πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἁσματικαὶ Ἀκολουθίαι εἰς διαφόρους Νεομάρτυρας φιλοπονηθεῖσαι παρὰ τοῦ Πανοσιολογιώτατου Κυρίου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Χίου. Νῦν πρῶτον τύποις λαμπροῖς ἐκδοθέν διὰ φιλοτίμου δαπάνης τῶν τιμιωτάτων φιλοχρίστων Συνδρομητῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς Βίβλου ὀνομαστὶ καταγραφέντων, εἰς κοινὴν ἀπάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ὠφελείαν (Βενετία: παρὰ Πάνω Θεοδοσίου τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, 1819).*

At the same time, the publication, intended to cover the liturgical gaps, of individual services of Neomartyrs as well as of other earlier Saints whose services in the Greek Menaia were incomplete, is observed from the 18th century¹² and continues into the 19th century.¹³

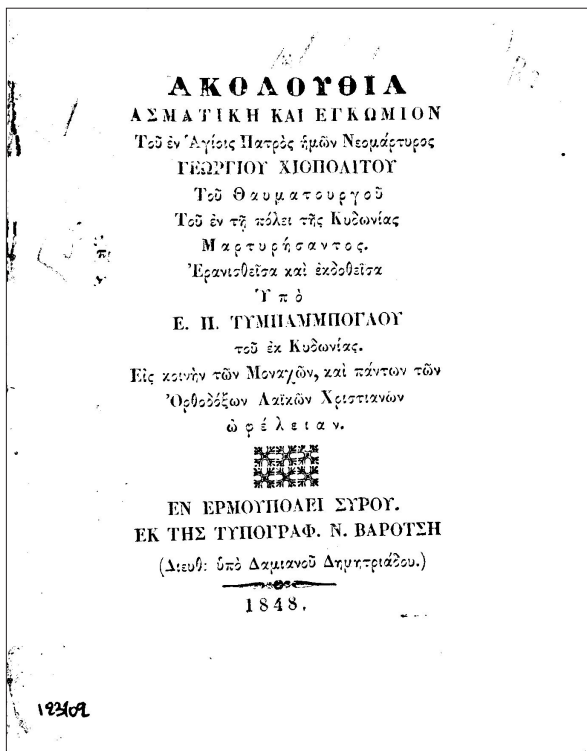


Figure 10: Acolouthia of St George of Chios the New Martyr 1848, the frontispiece of the edition

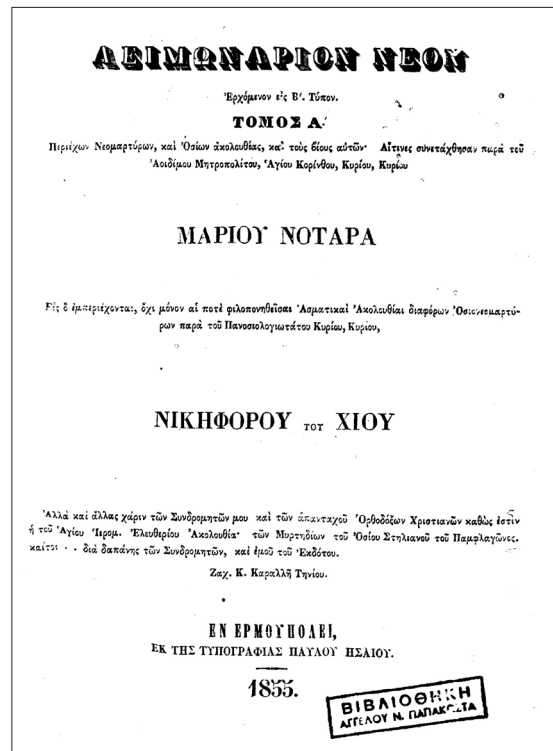


Figure 11: New Leimōnarian 1855, the frontispiece of the edition

The *New Leimōnarian* was republished in 1855 in three volumes,¹⁴ enriched with other services not present in the first edition of 1819. (Figure 11) The publisher Zacharias Karallis of Tinos, included some more Services, in addition to the those composed by St Nikephoros, because, as he writes in the frontispiece of the first volume, he “came upon the remembrances of many Saints but did not have the appropriate sung services to praise the saints martyred for love of Christ”.¹⁵

12 Cf. Nikolaos Kyrkos, *Ακολουθία του Αγίου Νεομάρτυρος Νικολάου του εκ Κώμης Μετζόβου και εν Τρίκκη μαρτυρήσαντος, ψαλλομένη τη 1Ζ' του Μαΐου μηνός. Συντεθεισα μεν παρά του λογιωτάτου Κυρίου Νικολάου Κύρκου αιτήσει του φιλοχρίστου λαού. Νῦν δὲ δεῦτερον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα και μετ' ἐπιμελείας διορθωθεῖσα* (Ενετίησιν: Παρὰ Αντωνίω τῷ Βόργολι. Con licenza de superiori, 1771)

13 An example of this which concerns the Neomartyrs of Chios is the case of the Holy Neomartyr Georgios of Chios (martyred in Cydonies in Asia Minor) whose service was published in Syros in 1848, cf. E. Tympanoglou, Ed., *Ακολουθία Αισματική και Εγκώμιον του εν Αγίοις Πατρός ἡμῶν Νεομάρτυρος Γεωργίου Χιοπολίτου του Θαυματουργου του εν τη πόλει της Κυδωνίας μαρτυρήσαντος. Ἐρανοθεῖσα και ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπό Ε. Π. Τυμπάνογλου του εκ Κυδωνίας. Εἰς κοινήν τῶν Μοναχῶν και πάντων τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Λαϊκῶν Χριστιανῶν ὠφέλειαν* (Ἐν Ἐρμουπόλει Σύρου: Ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφ. Ν. Βαρουτση, 1848). (Figure 10)

14 The first volume was edited in 1855, the second in 1856 and the third one year later, in 1857.

15 Cf. Zacharias Karallēs, *Λειμωνάριον Νέον περιέχον Νεομαρτύρων και Ὁσίων Ακολουθίας και τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν, αἵτινες συνετάχθησαν παρά του ἀοιδίμου Μητροπολίτου Αγίου Κορίνθου Κυρίου Κυρίου Μακαρίου Νοταρά εἰς ὃ ἐμπεριέχονται ὄχι μόνον αἱ ποτὲ φιλοπονηθεῖσαι Αἰσματικαὶ Ακολουθίαι διαφόρων Ὁσιονεομαρτύρων παρά του Πανοσιολογιωτάτου Κυρίου Κυρίου Νικηφόρου του Χίου ἀλλὰ και ἄλλας χάριν τῶν συνδρομητῶν μου και τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ Ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν καθὼς ἐστίν ἡ του Αγίου Ἱερομ. Ἐλευθερίου Ακολουθία, τῶν Μυρτηδίων, του Ὁσίου Στυλιανου του Παμφλαγῶνος, καίτοι διὰ δαπάνης τῶν συνδρομητῶν και ἐμου του Ἐκδότου Ζαχ. Κ. Καραλλῆ Τηνίου. 2 ed. Vol. Α' (Ἐν Ἐρμουπόλει: Ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας Παύλου Ἡσαίου, 1855).*

Later, in 1873, another edition of the *New Leimōnarion* came to light, this time published in Athens and authorized by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece.¹⁶

This is the second edition of the *New Leimōnarion* of 1819, with a chronological rearrangement of the contents starting from January. (Figure 12) An important discovery in this second edition is not only the chronological listing of the services in order to facilitate liturgical use, but especially what we read in the List of Subscribers, which comes from Chios: "His Eminence Metropolitan Gregorios of Chios to his clergy, 200 books".¹⁷ (Figure 13) This indicates that the Metropolitan of Chios actively encouraged the clergy of his diocese to honour the New Martyrs as well as the other local Saints. Therefore we see that Metropolitan Gregorios introduced feasts to public worship which had not hitherto been included in the official Greek liturgical Menaia.

In order to understand the significance of the musical composition of the doxastikon, before referring to the musical structure of the works, a more detailed analysis must be provided of a) the contents of the manuscript and b) the printed books published before the date the works from which the idiomelon doxastikon derive were set to music.

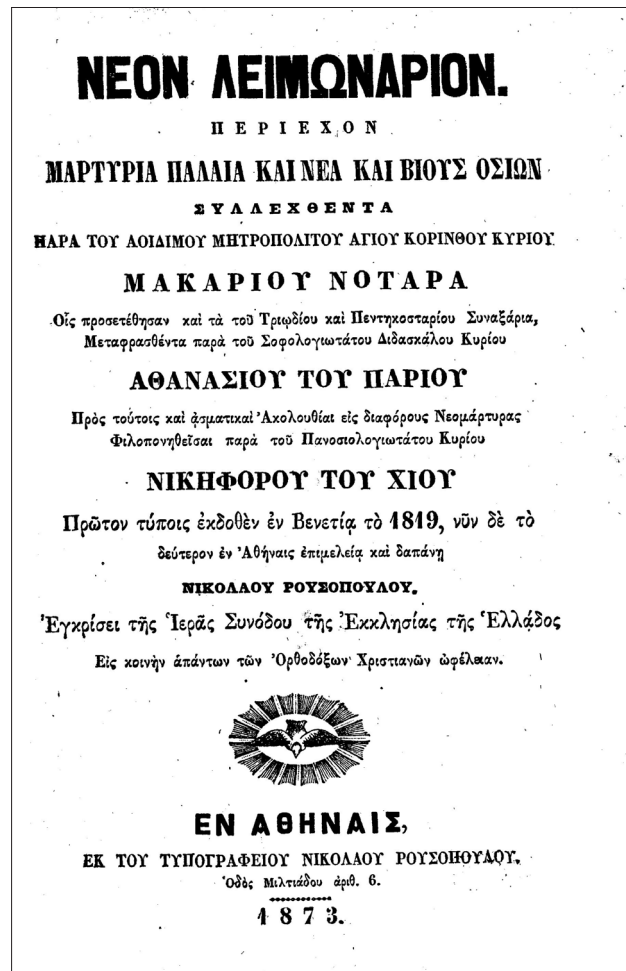


Figure 12: *New Leimōnarion* 1873, the frontispiece of the edition

16 Cf. Nikolaos Rousopoulos, ed., *Νέον Λειμωνάριον περιέχον Μαρτύρια παλαιὰ καὶ νέα καὶ βίους ὁσίων συλλεχθέντα παρὰ τοῦ αἰδίου Μητροπολίτου Ἁγίου Κορίνθου Κυρίου Μακαρίου Νοταρᾶ, οἱς προσετέθησαν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Τριωδίου καὶ Πεντηκοσταρίου Συναξάρια, μεταφρασθέντα παρὰ τοῦ Σοφολογιστάτου Διδασκάλου Κυρίου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Χίου. Πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθὲν ἐν Βενετίᾳ τὸ 1819, νῦν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπιμελεῖα καὶ δαπάνῃ Νικολάου Ρουσοπούλου. Ἐγκρίσει τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰς κοινὴν ἀπάντων τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν ὠφέλειαν* (Ἐν Ἀθήναις: Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου Νικολάου Ρουσοπούλου, 1873).

17 Cf. Nikolaos Rousopoulos, ed., *Νέον Λειμωνάριον*, 570.

370		ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΩΝ Κ.Κ. ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΤΩΝ.	
Ἄντωνος Δ. Ἀγριανίτης.	σώμ. 1	Ἀρχιμ. Ἰωακείμ ἐκ Ψαρῶν.	σώμ. 1
Ἀγγιλέως Π. Πρωτοπαπᾶ.	» 1	Παππᾶ Μιχαὴλ Σακελλίου Καλογεράς.	» 1
Ἰλίας Ἱερ. Καλογήρου.	» 1	Φίλιππος Κ. Ζωνάραξ.	» 1
Ἰσίδωρος Ἱερομ. καὶ βιβλιοδέτης.	» 1	Κωνσταντῖνος Μ. Καστερνόδης.	» 1
Λάζαρος Θ. Νέγκας.	» 1	Ἱεροδιάκονος Ἰωακείμ Πατρικίου.	» 1
Θεόδωρος Παππᾶ Ἰωάννου (Τήνιος).	» 1	Πέτρος Ν. Βιγλαζής.	» 1
Γάϊκος Παππᾶ Χελιώτης.	» 1	Παππᾶ Μιχαὴλ Δ. Γιαλλούρης.	» 1
Ἀθανάσιος Γ. Μανιάτης.	» 1	Ἰωάννης Δ. Κούμαρης.	» 1
Σουσάνα Ν. Φρούτα.	» 1	Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης Κώμης Μεστών.	» 1
Ἀνδριάντα Ἀναγνώστου Καραβέλα.	» 1	Ἰωάννης Μώγλας.	» 1
Γεώργιος Ν. Γιάππακας.	» 1	Ἀδελφοὶ Ἁγίου Βασιλείου.	» 1
		Νικόλαος Ἀργυρούδης.	» 1
		Ἀδελφοὶ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου.	» 1
		Στέφανος Στραυρινάκης ἰατρός	» 1
		Παντελεῖων Τζαμπλάκος	» 1
		<i>Β ο υ ρ ό</i>	
ΚΡΑΝΙΔΙΟΥ.		Κωνσταντῖνος ἱερεὺς Παππᾶ Δημη-	
Μιχαὴλ Παππαχειλιώτης ἱερεὺς	σώμ. 1	τρίου	» 1
Παναγιώτης Κυριακοῦ Κιαπέλλα Προ-	» 1	Μιχαὴλ Ἀναστασίου Κούτης	» 1
σκυνητῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Τάφου.			
Βασίλειος Ἰω. Κωντογιάννης.	» 1	<i>Κ ο ι ν ή</i>	
Πέτρος Δ. Χαρακόπουλος.	» 1	Δημήτριος Κουρνέζος ἱερεὺς	» 1
Ἡ Μονὴ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων.	» 1	Γρηγόριος Παππᾶ Ἀντωνάκη Ἱερομύ-	» 1
		ναχος	
		<i>Μέσα Ἀηθμα.</i>	
ΠΟΡΟΥ.		Σταυριανὸς Παππᾶ Ἰωάννου ἱερεὺς	» 1
Ἡ Μονὴ Ζωοδόχος Πηγῆ.	» 1	Ἰωάννης Σκυνίκας ἱερεὺς	» 1
Ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἠγούμενος Νικηφόρος Σακελ-	» 1		
λιανός Ἱερομόναχος.		<i>Ἱερά Μονὴ Χαλάνδρων</i>	
		Θεοδούλη Μοναχὴ Ἠγουμένη	» 1
ΣΠΕΤΣΩΝ.		Μητροδώρα Πολίτισσα Μοναχὴ	» 1
Ὁ Δημοτικὸς Ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγ. Νικολάου.	» 1	Μητροδώρα Λαβιδενα Μοναχὴ	» 1
Γεώργιος Ἀλεσπολιωρίτης.	» 1	Ἀγαθόκλητη Μοναχὴ	» 2
		Φιλοθέη Μοναχὴ	» 1
ΧΙΟΥ.			
Ὁ Πανερωτιάτης Μητροπολίτης Ἅγιος			
Χίου Κ. Κ. Γρηγόριος διὰ τὸν ἐπ' αὐ-	σώμ. 200		
τὸν Κλῆρον.			
Ὁ Ἅγιος Μείγας τῆς αὐτῆς Μητροπό-	» 40		
λεως Ἀργυδιάκονος Κύρ. Νικηδόμος.			
Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Διονύσιος.	» 2		

Figure 13: New Leimōnarium 1855, the page

As far as the more detailed presentation of Part I of the manuscript *Leimōnarium* is concerned, we can say that the idiomelon doxastikon of the Vespers, the aposticha and the praises of 27 feast days are recorded on pages 1-196. A full list of the feasts is given in the table below:

TABLE OF FEASTS

Feast Date	Saint's Day	MS page	Recorded in printed editions and other manuscripts
20 October	Gerasimos the New	1-8	Leimōnarium Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarium 1873
26 November	Georgios of Chios	8-14	Neon Leimōnarium 1819, Leimōnarium Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarium 1873
17 December	Dionysius of Aegina	14-23	Leimōnarium Neon 1855

26 November	Stylianos of Paphlagonia	23-31	Leimōnarion Neon 1855
24 September	Panagia Myrtidiotissa (Our Lady of the Myrtles)	31-39	Leimōnarion Neon 1855
15 December	Hieromartyr Eleutherios	40-49	Leimōnarion Neon 1855
14 November	Konstantinos of Hydra	50-58	Leimōnarion Neon 1855
16 August	St Mandēlion	58-63	Leimōnarion Neon 1855
23 March	St Luke the New	63-68	Leimōnarion Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarion 1873
23 April	Lazarus the New Martyr	68-75	1855, 1873
14 May	St Isidore	75-80	Neon Leimōnarion 1819, Leimōnarion Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarion 1873
2 December	St Myrope	80-88	Neon Leimōnarion 1819, Leimōnarion Neon 1855
22 July	St Marcella	88-96	Neon Leimōnarion 1819, Leimōnarion Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarion 1873
7 July	St Kyriakē	96-103	Individual Publication
26 July	St Paraskevē	103-109	Individual Publication
13 December	St Lucia the Virgin-Martyr	109-115	Individual Publication
9 July	Cyril of Alexandria	115-125	Individual Publication
20 October	St Artemius	125-134	Individual Publication
30 January	Discovery of the Panagia Evangelistria Icon in Tēnos	134-139	Individual Publication
9 May	Translation of the relics of St Nicholaos	139-149	Individual Publication
19 December	St Modestus	149-157	Individual Publication
15 July	Discovery of the head of St Matrōna of Chios	157-161	Neon Leimōnarion 1819, Leimōnarion Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarion 1873
5 July	Great Martyr Markus the New	161-168	Neon Leimōnarion 1819, Leimōnarion Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarion 1873
3 December	St Angelēs the New Martyr	168-174	Neon Leimōnarion 1819, Leimōnarion Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarion 1873
1 February	St Tryphon	174-183	Individual Publication
Every date	Service for any New Martyr	183-187	Neon Leimōnarion 1819, Leimōnarion Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarion 1873

20 October	St Matrōna	187-196	Neon Leimōnarion 1819, Leimōnarion Neon 1855, Neon Leimōnarion 1873
30 December ¹⁸	St Zotikos	396-403	Ms. of Anthimos Poulakēs ¹⁹
17 April	St Makarios	403-410	Ms. of Anthimos Poulakēs ²⁰
3 September	St Anthimos	410-417	Mēnaion of September, Ms. of Anthimos Poulakēs ²¹
14 October	Miracle of St Paraskevē	417-424	Neon Leimōnarion 1819

The feasts can be classified in 7 categories:

- 1st category: Services of New Martyrs who are not related to Chios.
- 2nd category: Services of New Martyrs who are honoured on Chios.
- 3rd category: Services of newly revealed Saints and holy men (honoured on Chios and elsewhere).
- 4th category: Services of earlier Saints who are especially honoured on Chios.
- 5th category: Services of earlier Saints of global fame and honour.
- 6th category: Services commemorating wondrous events, such as the discovery of miraculous icons and relics, particularly honoured on Chios.
- 7th category: General Services (lacking specific references, e.g. to a New Martyr).

The generalization of the honouring of certain local and non-local earlier and later holy Martyrs and Saints on Chios explains the setting to music of the doxastikon of the *New Leimōnarion* by Yangos Kavadas. The successful execution of the services inevitably requires the appropriate musical texts, which I present in this paper. These number approximately 100 doxastika and idiomela. They are written using the New Method. We could say that their composition is based on the genre of the New Sticherarion.²² However, their composition presents a particularity. Regarding the notation, Ioannis Kavadas writes down the small variations of the voice and the

18 The coloured feasts are recorded after the note of page 196 that the Leimōnarion is completed. Therefore they constitute a supplement after page 396.

19 Cf. "Service of St Hieromartyr Zotikos the defender of the lepers chanted on 30 December. It is composed by Anthimos, Hieromonk of Chios", ms Public Library of Chios 1696, ff. 1-11v, Agamemnōn Tselikas, "Τὰ βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Χίου 'Ὁ Κοραῆς' ". *Χιακὰ Χρονικά* no. 14 (1984): 57.

20 Cf. "Service of our Holy Father St Makarios Archbishop of Korinthos who has graced Chios in aōe (1805) in the year of our Lord April iz (17), ms Public Library of Chios 1696, ff. 30r-36v, Agamemnōn Tselikas, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ*: 58.

21 Cf. "Service of St Hieromartyr Anthimos Bishop of Nikomēdeia, completed by Anthimos Poulakēs hieromonk. It is chanted on 3 September", ms Public Library of Chios 1696, ff. 20r-27r, Agamemnōn Tselikas, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ*: 57-58.

interpretation of the musical signs in a more detailed way.²³ As for the melopoeia, Ioannis Kavadas derives his musical material from two sources. The first is the New Sticherarion, as it was organised by Petros Lampadarios.²⁴ The second source is the Old Sticherarion,²⁵ as it is known through the Doxastarion of Jacob the first Chanter of Great Church.²⁶ Yangos Kavadas combines the main musical material of the New Sticherarion with some *theseis*²⁷ of the Old Sticherarion in selected parts of the hymn.

Two excerpts have been chosen from the Feast of St Matrona of Chios. I intend to demonstrate the way in which Kavadas sets the music of the hymns. I have chosen this feast because Kavadas pays more attention to the feasts of Saints from Chios, though this does not mean that the other feasts do not receive special attention from him.

23 Concerning the subject of the interpretation of the musical signs, see Demetrios Nerantzēs, *Συμβολή στην Ερμηνεία του Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ Μέλους* (Ηράκλειο, 1997). Georgios Konstantinou, *Ἡ παρασήμανση τῆς Μουσικῆς Ἐκφράσεως μετὰ τὴν ἐφαρμογὴ τῆς Νέας Μεθόδου Γραφῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς (1814) σὲ Ἑλληνικὲς καὶ Ρουμανικὲς πηγές. Διδακτορικὴ Διατριβὴ* (Τμῆμα Μουσικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἰόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, Κέρκυρα, 2003). Concerning interpretation within Athonite tradition, see Michael Stroumpakēs, “The interpretative tradition of hymns in Athonite Monasticism. Diversity and Unity. A first approach.” In Ivan Moody and Maria Takala-Roszczenko, eds, *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music: Unity and Variety in Orthodox Music, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, 6-12 June 2011* (Joensuu: The international Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2013), 99-119.

24 About life and work of Peter the Peloponnesian, Lampadarios of Great Church, see Manolēs Chatzigiakoumēs, *Μουσικὰ χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453-1832)*. Vol. Α' (Ἀθήνα, 1975), 368-377. Gregorios Stathēs, “Πέτρος λαμπαδάριος ὁ Πελοποννήσιος ὁ ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος. Ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργο του (+1778).” *Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαί* no. 7 (1983): 108-125. Idem, “Ἰάκωβος Πρωτοψάλτης ὁ Βυζάντιος (+23 Ἀπριλίου 1800).” In *Κύκλος Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς. Οἱ ἦχοι τ' οὐρανοῦ. Ἁγιορεῖτες μελουργοὶ «παλαιοὶ τε καὶ νέοι». Μελουργοὶ τοῦ 18ου αἰῶνα. Πέτρος Λαμπαδάριος ὁ Πελοποννήσιος - Ἰάκωβος Πρωτοψάλτης ὁ Βυζάντιος. Μέγαρο Μουσικῆς Ἀθηνῶν. Περίοδος 1996-1997* (Ἀθήνα: Μέγαρο Μουσικῆς Ἀθηνῶν, 1996), 36-45. Achilleus Chaldaeakēs, *Ὁ πολυέλεος στὴν βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιΐα*. Vol. Μελέται 5, Μελέται (Ἀθήνα: Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Ἱερά Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2003), 513-516. Konstantinos Karakounēs, *Ἡ παράδοση καὶ ἐξήγηση τοῦ μέλους τῶν Χερουβικῶν τῆς Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς Μελοποιΐας*. Vol. Μελέται 7. (Ἀθήνα: Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Ἱερά Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2003), 513-516. Gregorios Stathēs, *Τὰ Πρωτόγραφα τῆς Ἐξηγήσεως εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μέθοδον Σημειογραφίας*. Vol. Α' Τὰ προλεγόμενα (Ἀθήνα: Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Ἱερά Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2016), 123-126

25 Concerning the Old Sticherarion as a genre of melopoeia, see Gregorios Stathēs, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς Ἁγίου Ὁρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς, τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθηκαῖς τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκητῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*. Vol. Α', [Μονὲς Ἐρησοποτάμου, Δοχειαρίου, Κωνσταμονίτου], (Ἀθήνα: Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Ἱερά Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1975), κθ'. Idem, *Οἱ ἀναγραμματισμοὶ καὶ τὰ μαθήματα τῆς βυζαντινῆς μελοποιΐας* 10 ed. Vol. 3, Μελέται. (Ἀθήνα: Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Ἱερά Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2018), 57-58.

26 Concerning the life and work of Jacob the First Chanter of Great Church, see Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς συνταχθὲν μὲν παρά Χρυσάνθου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Δυρραχίου τοῦ ἐκ Μαδύτων ἐκδοθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ Παναγιώτου Γ. Πελοπίδου Πελοποννησίου διὰ φιλοτίμου συνδρομῆς τῶν ὁμογενῶν*. (Ἐν Τεργέστη: ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας Μιχαὴλ Βάϊς Michele Weis, 1832), xxxvi. Gregorios Stathēs, “Ἰάκωβος Πρωτοψάλτης ὁ Βυζάντιος (+23 Ἀπριλίου 1800).” In *Κύκλος Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς. Οἱ ἦχοι τ' οὐρανοῦ. Ἁγιορεῖτες μελουργοὶ «παλαιοὶ τε καὶ νέοι». Μελουργοὶ τοῦ 18ου αἰῶνα. Πέτρος Λαμπαδάριος ὁ Πελοποννήσιος - Ἰάκωβος Πρωτοψάλτης ὁ Βυζάντιος. Μέγαρο Μουσικῆς Ἀθηνῶν. Περίοδος 1996-1997*. (Ἀθήνα: Μέγαρο Μουσικῆς Ἀθηνῶν, 1996), 36-45. Idem, «Ἰάκωβος Πρωτοψάλτης ὁ Βυζάντιος (+ 23 Ἀπριλίου 1800).» *ΕΕΘΣΠΑ* no. 32 (1997): 317-334 & Χαλδαεακίς, Ιακὼβ, πρωτοψάλτ Βελοκὴϊ κ., мелург. In *Православная Энциклопедия* no 20 (Москва: Церковно-научный центр «Православная Энциклопедия», 2014), 504.

27 Concerning the theseis of melopoeia see especially Gregorios Stathēs, *Ἡ ἐξήγησις τῆς παλαιᾶς βυζαντινῆς σημειογραφίας καὶ ἔκδοσις ἀνωλύμου συγγραφεῖς τοῦ κώδικος Ἐρησοποτάμου 357 ὡς καὶ ἐπιλογῆς τῆς Μουσικῆς Τέχνης τοῦ Αποστόλου Κωνσταντίνου Χίου ἐκ τοῦ κώδικος Δοχειαρίου 389 μὲν μία προσθήκη ἀπὸ τὸν κώδικα ΕΒΕ 1867*. 6 ed. Vol. Μελέται 2 (Ἀθήνα: Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Ἱερά Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2006), 102-105.

TABLE 1. 1ST MUSICAL EXCERPT: DOXASTIKON OF VESPERS (musical manuscript Leimōnaron, p. 188)

Ἦχος λ π Πα

O Ma tro o o na a a The o o o so o o o phe tou ko o o o smou

ga ar o o o o o los ten i di i i i i i i i ti i i i i ni i

i i ta a pei pa me e ne e e e the e o o o o phron

TABLE 3

Ἦχος λ π Πά

A1

Ω Μα τρω ω ω να α θε ο ο σο ο ο ο φε

A2

του κο ο ο σμου γα αρ ο ο ο ο ο λως την η

B

δυ υ υ υ υ υ τη η η η η η η η η τα

C

α πει πα με ε νη η η θε ε ο ο ο φρον

A1. New Sticherarion

O Ma tro o o na a a The o o o so o o o o phe tou ko o

12

A2. New Sticherarion

o o smou ga ar o o o o o o los

B2. Old Sticherarion

tin i di i i i i i i i ti i

24

C. New Sticherarion

i i i i ni i i i ta a pei pa me e ni i i i the e o o o o

34

phron

Let us examine each part separately. I have detected the same or similar musical phrases in manuscripts or editions. More specifically, parts A and C originate from the New Sticherarion, while part B is obviously based on the Old Sticherarion. That can be easily seen if we track these *theses*, as we can see in the table below:

TABLE 4

Part A1: Similar <i>thesis</i> (New Sticherarion, from Doxastarion composed by Petros Lampadarios)	
Musical phrase: Ὡ Ματρῶνα θεόσοφε/ O Matrōna theosophē	
Corresponding <i>thesis</i> : musical phrase Ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τὸ ἀήττητον/ <i>Tais aretais to aētēton</i> (Doxastikon of Vespers. Feast of Saint Euphēmia. Doxastarion composed by Petros Lampadarios, cf. <i>Doxastarion</i> Bucharest 1820, p. 31.	
The musical phrase in the old notation from Ms Mingana no 7 (Doxastarion), f. 10v	

TABLE 5

Part B: Similar <i>thesis</i> to part B (Old Sticherarion, from Doxastarion composed by Jacob the First Chanter of the Great Church)	
Musical phrase: Τοῦ κόσμου γὰρ ὅλως τὴν ἡδύτητα/ Tou kosmou gar olōs tēn ēdytēta	
Corresponding <i>thesis</i> : musical phrase Καὶ πόλιν Βασιλεύουσαν/ <i>Kai polin Basileuousan</i> (Doxastikon of Vespers. Feast of Sts Constantine and Helen. Doxastarion composed by Jacob the First Chanter, cf. <i>Doxastarion</i> 1836, vol. 2, p. 19.	

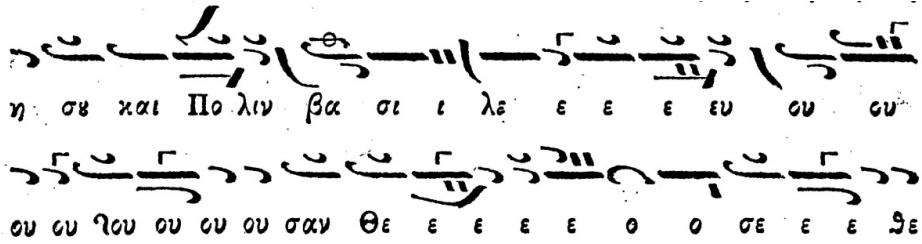

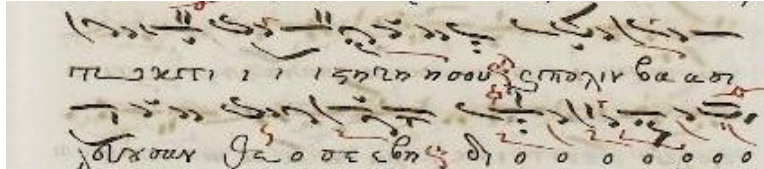
	
	
<p>The musical phrase in the old notation from Psachos Library 52/200, f. 63r</p>	

TABLE 6

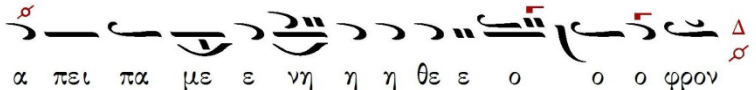
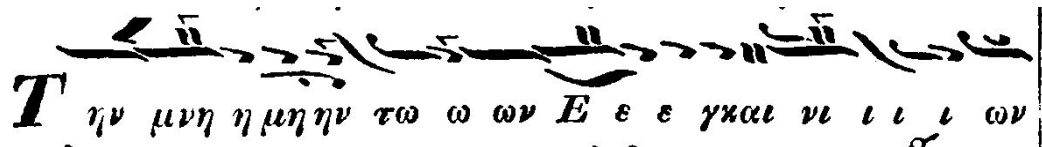

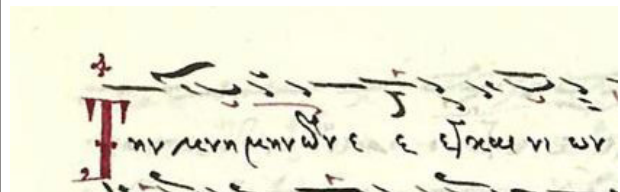
<p>Part C: Similar <i>thesis</i> (New Sticherarion, from Doxastarion composed by Petros Lampadarios)</p>	
<p>Musical phrase: Ἀπειπαμένη θεόφρον/ Apeipamenē theophron</p>	
<p>Corresponding <i>thesis</i>: musical phrase Τὴν μνήμην τῶν Ἐγκαινίων/ <i>Tēn mnēmēn tōn egkainiōn</i> (Doxastikon of Vespers. Feast of the Consecration of the Church of the Holy Resurrection. Doxastarion composed by Petros Lampadarios, cf. <i>Doxastarion</i> Bucharest 1820, p. 18.</p>	
	
	
<p>The musical phrase in the old notation from Ms Mingana no 7 (Doxastarion), f. 7r</p>	

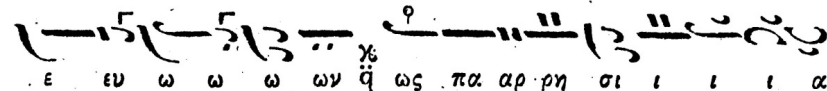
TABLE 8

Part A: Similar <i>thesis</i> (New Sticherarion, from Doxastarion composed by Petros Lampadarios)	
Musical phrase: Δεῦτε φιλεόρτων τὸ σύστημα/Deute fileor- tōn to systēma	<p>Ἦχος ἁΐ Πά</p>
Corresponding <i>thesis</i> : musical phrase Ὅπου ἐπισκιάσει ἡ χάρις σου Ἀρχάγγελε/ <i>Orou episkiasē ē charis sou Archangelle</i> (Doxastikon of Matins. Feast of the Synaxis of the Archangel Michael. Doxastarion composed by Petros Lampadarios, cf. <i>Doxastarion</i> Bucharest 1820, p. 55)	
The musical phrase in the old notation from Ms Mingana no 7 (Doxastarion), f. 18r	

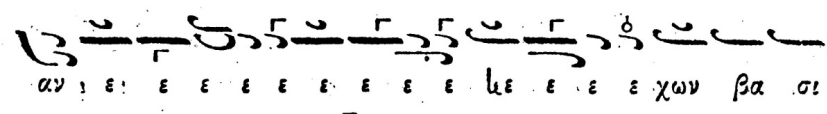
TABLE 9

Part B: Similar <i>thesis</i> to part B (Old Sticherarion, from Doxastarion composed by Jacob the First Chanter of the Great Church)	
Musical phrase: Σεπτοτάτη Ματρῶνα/ Septotatē Matrōna	

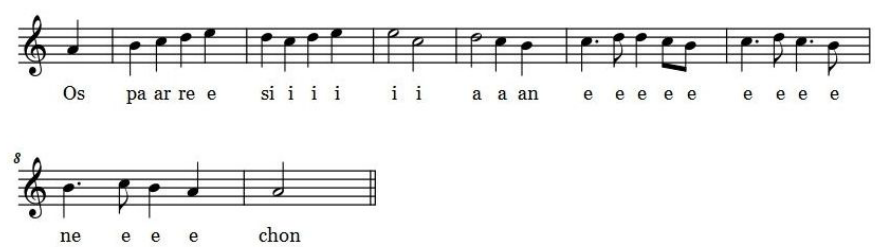
Corresponding *thesis*: musical phrase $\omega\varsigma \text{ παρρησίαν ἔχων}$ / *ōs parrēsian echōn* (Feast of Sts Constantine & Helen, Doxastarion composed by Jacob the First Chanter, cf. *Doxastarion* 1836, vol.2, p. 24)



Ε ΕΥ Ω Ω Ω Ω Ω Ως πα αρ ρη σι ι ι ι α



αν: ε: ε ε ε ε ε ε ε ε λε ε ε ε χων βα σι



Os pa ar re e si i i i i i a a an e e e e e e e e e

ne e e e e chon

The musical phrase in the old notation from Ms. Docheiarion 365, f. 102v

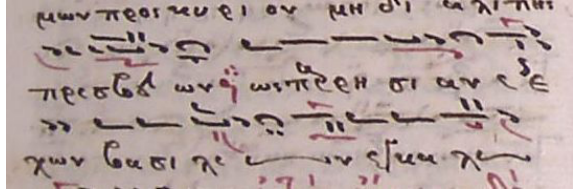


TABLE 10

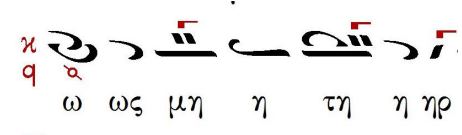
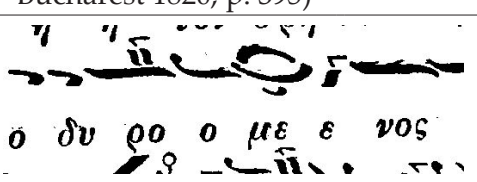

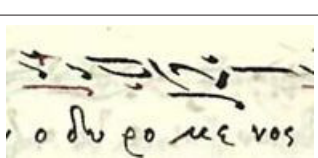
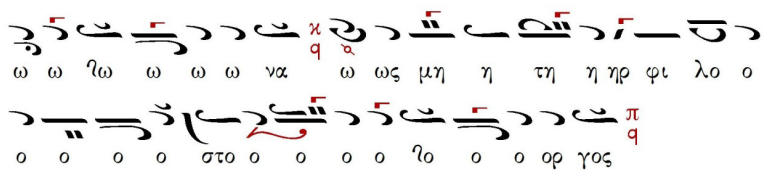
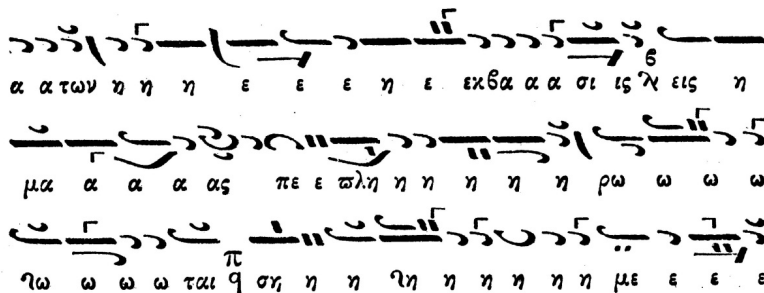

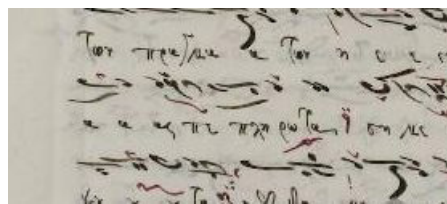
Part C: Similar <i>thesis</i> (New Sticherarion, from Doxastarion composed by Petros Lampadarios)	
Musical phrase: Ως μητηρ/ <i>Ōs mētēr</i>	 <p>ω ως μη η τη η ηρ</p>
Corresponding <i>thesis</i> : musical phrase $\acute{\omicron}\delta\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ / <i>odyromenos</i> (Doxastikon of Vespers of Holy Saturday. Doxastarion composed by Petros Lampadarios, cf. <i>Doxastarion</i> Bucharest 1820, p. 395)	
 <p>ο δυ ρο ο με ε νοσ</p>	
 <p>o dy ro o o me e e nos</p>	
The musical phrase in the old notation from Ms Mingana no 7 (Doxastarion), f. 125v	

TABLE 11

Part D: Similar <i>thesis</i> to part D (Old Sticherarion, from Doxastarion composed by Jacob the First Chanter of the Great Church)	
Musical phrase: φιλόστοργος/ philostorgos	 <p>ω ω ῶ ω ω ω να ω ως μη η τη η ηρ φι λο ο ο ο ο ο στο ο ο ο ο ῶ ο ο ορ γος</p>
Corresponding <i>thesis</i> : musical phrase εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπλήρωται/ <i>eis hemas eplirotai</i> (Doxastikon of the Lity, from the Feast The Elevation of the Venerable and Life-Giving Cross, Doxastarion composed by Jacob the First Chanter, cf. <i>Doxastarion</i> 1836, Vol. 1, p. 23).	
 <p>α α των η η η ε ε ε η ε εκβα α α σι ις ἄ εις η μα α α α ας πε ε πλη η η η η η ρω ω ω ω ῶ ω ω ω ται π σι η η ῶ η η η η η η με ε ε ε</p>	
 <p>pe e pli i i i i ro o o o o no o o o tai</p>	
The musical phrase in the old notation from Psachos Library ms 76/225, 3v (scribe Petros Byzantios)	

As a result of the combination above it may be considered the creation of a mixed musical genre that combines the flexibility of the New Sticherarion with the solemn style of the Old Sticherarion. A typical example of this mixed genre may be found in the works of Nikolaos from Docheiarion in Mount Athos concerning the Feast of Athonite Fathers in 1839.²⁸ The similarity in styles between Ioannis Kavadas and Nikolaos of Docheiarion relates not only to musical morphology but also to other elements concerning the text and the local celebration of the feast.²⁹ It is obvious that a solemn style is imposed but it is modified in order to correspond to the liturgical framework of the 19th century characterized by the shorter duration of

28 Cf. Michaël Stroumpakēs, *Νικόλαος Δοχειαρίτης και ἡ συμβολή του στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*. Vol. Μελέται 18. (Αθήνα: Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Ἱερά Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2014), 200-201.

29 One should not forget that both liturgical texts were newly composed and written by contemporary writers such as Nikodēmos the Hagiorite and Nicephorus of Chios. Concerning the Feast of Hagiorite Fathers, see Nikodēmos the Hagiorite, *Ἀκολουθία Ἀισματική και Ἐγκώμιον τῶν Ὁσίων και Θεοφόρων Πατέρων ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει τοῦ Ἁθῶ διαλαμψάντων Συγγραφέντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μοναχοῖς ἐλαχίστου Νικοδήμου Ἀγιορείτου Προτροπῆ και ἀξιῶσει τῆς Ἱεράς και κοινῆς Συνάξεως πάντων τῶν Μοναστηριακῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους Πατέρων Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον ἐκδοθέντα Ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυπογράφου Γεωργίου Μελισταγοῦς. Διὰ συνδρομῆς τῆς σεβασμίας ὁμηγύρεως τῶν ἐν Ἁθῶ Πατέρων. Εἰς κοινὴν τῶν Μοναχῶν, και πάντων τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων Λαϊκῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀφέλειαν* (Ἐν Ἐρμουπόλει: Ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας Γ. Μελισταγοῦς Μακεδόνας, 1847).

liturgical Services and to the musical framework, characterized by the domination of the solo chanter who is usually accompanied by a small group of chanters and who guides vocally and imposes his interpretative style.

To supplement this, one could make mention of other elements that illuminate the compositions, such as the use of imitation of the meaning of the text (i.e., word painting) or the use of more detailed elaboration of the musical phrase.³⁰

a) Imitation of the meaning of the text. The melody intends to express the meaning of the text. A typical example derives from the doxastikon of the aposticha for the Feast of St Dionysius of Zakynthos, as shown in the table below:

TABLE 12

<p style="color: red; font-size: 1.2em;">Ἦχος λ π Πα</p> 	
	<p style="text-align: center; color: red; font-size: 1.2em;">Ἦχος λ π Πα</p>
	

In my attempt to understand this way of composing, I translated the poetic text into English and adapted the original melody to it. One can see how Kavadas sets the music iton specific words in the excerpt, such as: weeping in bitter tears, in their grief, they were wailing. Here is the result:

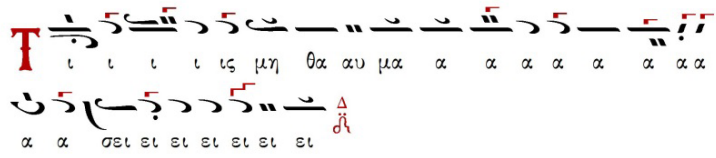
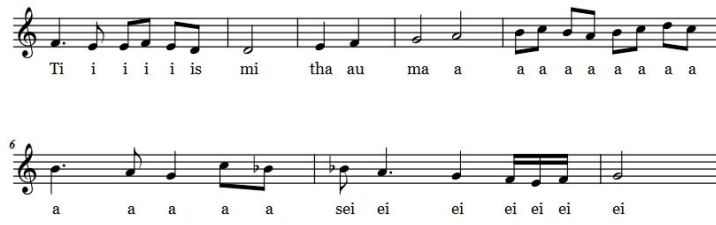
³⁰ Some other elements such as the requirement for an extended vocal range or an interesting combination of modes will be included in a more extended study.

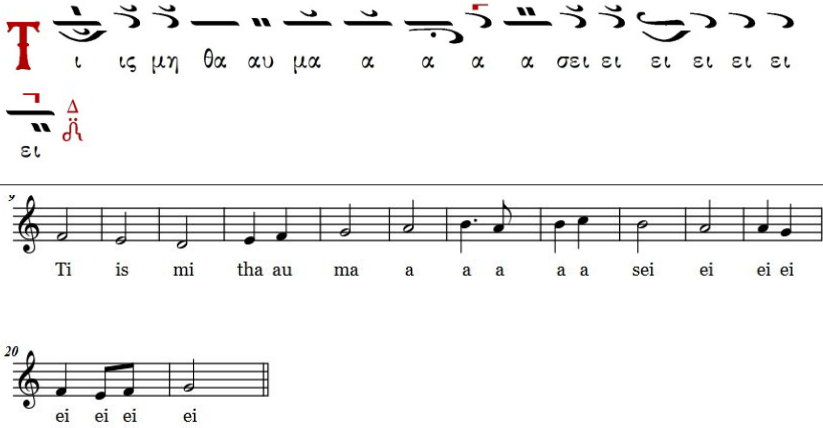
TABLE 13

 <p>They were weeping in bitter tears and in their grief they were wai- ling in lamenta- tion</p>
 <p>They were weel - - - ping in bi i i it te e e e r tears and in their - - - - grief - - - - they were wai - - ling - - - in la men ta - - - - tion</p>

b) **More detailed elaboration of the musical phrase.** The particular vocal qualifications of the chanter are easily highlighted. A typical example is the musical phrase *Τίς μή θαυμάσει/ tis mē thaumasei* from the doxastikon of Vespers of the Feast of the Commemoration of the Miracle of the Theotokos of the Myrtles in Kythira island “Tis mē thaumasei”:

TABLE 14

<p>The extended musical text from the manuscript</p>	<p>Ἦχος ᾠδῆς Νη</p>  <p>T i i i i i s mi tha au ma a a a a a a a a a a sei ei ei ei ei ei ei ei</p>
	 <p>Ti i i i i s mi tha au ma a a a a a a a a a a a a a sei ei ei ei ei ei ei ei</p>

<p>A version of the excerpt above, as it should be written down in a synoptic way</p>	
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Based on the above information, we can see that Ioannes Kavadas used liturgical texts from the “New Leimōnarian”, in order to compose doxastika and idiomela in a particular way, and seeming to keep a very interesting point of view of interpretation. It is not known whether Kavadas had composed them before the compilation of the manuscript, but it is certain that this manuscript would have remained unknown if the inheritor of Antonios Malleas had not taken it out from the drawer 150 years later, awaiting performance.

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MUSIC AS LITURGY: MODELS FROM ANCIENT SYRIAC CHRISTIANITY

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The pervasive, even universal, presence of singing in early Christian worship can obscure a basic puzzle: why did ancient Christians find music and singing intrinsic to the act of worship? I approach this problem not as a musicologist, but rather as a scholar of religion and social history. From this perspective, the devotional habits of ordinary people provide clues to how religious practices carry meaning in their society and culture. My focus in this essay is the era of late antiquity, the fourth to the seventh century CE. This is the period when choirs, responsorial singing, and liturgical music burst forth into Christianity as a public religion, for the first time with vibrant, expansive forms.¹ I will treat liturgy in the broadest sense of the term, to signal the entire range of worship services, daily, weekly, festal, and occasional, celebrated in church, at home, at shrines, or in public gatherings.² And I will focus on Syriac Christianity, a tradition at the centre during orthodox Christianity's founding centuries. Syriac was part of the rich multicultural and multilingual society of the early Byzantine Empire (and beyond). It provided tremendous creative force, especially for the development of hymnography.³ There is good reason why St Ephrem the Syrian is a universal saint throughout the Orthodox and Catholic Churches!

Syriac is a dialect of Aramaic, famed as "the language Jesus spoke", developed in the first century CE in the region of Edessa (now south-eastern Turkey). It spread quickly and widely throughout the Middle East and beyond. It remains a living language and especially a liturgical language to the present day, now heard in communities in North America, Europe, Scandinavia and Australia in addition to its homelands in Syria, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Israel and parts of India. In late antiquity, Syriac Christianity flourished at the interface between Byzantine and Persian cultures, strongly inflected by both, but with its own confident, sophisticated style. During the sixth and seventh centuries, Syriac missionaries made their way south into the

1 For an excellent overview of this historical development for Christianity, see Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers*, 9-242.

2 For an overview of the major Syriac liturgical traditions into the present, with convenient bibliography, see Varghese, "The Liturgies of the Syriac Churches."

3 The intense cultural vibrancy that characterized Syriac-Greek interaction during this period has gained considerable scholarly attention in recent years. See, for example, Butts, *Language and Change in the Wake of Empire*; Wickes, *Bible and Poetry*; Forness, *Preaching Christology*.

Arabian peninsula and deep into Nubia and Ethiopia, and travelled out along the Silk Road, settling as far as China, where Syriac Christianity flourished for many centuries in creative engagement with Buddhist and Daoist interlocutors. In the late antique Byzantine Empire, Syriac flourished in cosmopolitan cities with wide, colonnaded streets, elegant theatres, and stunning churches, exquisitely carved and embellished on large or small scale. Syriac Christians, then as now, were known for their remarkable skill as craftspersons in precious metals, adorning liturgical practice with their artistry. Syriac manuscripts are among our oldest surviving Christian witnesses, often centuries earlier than their Greek or Latin counterparts, and often beautifully illustrated. The emergence of Islam in the seventh century brought changing historical circumstances for Syriac Christians, but they continued to thrive, and continued both to engage their larger cultures and to express their own distinctive styles.⁴

During the era of late antiquity, Syriac Christians were part of the Byzantine and Persian Empires. They forged a vibrant liturgical tradition performed through a brilliant array of song, crafted by the likes of Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373), Narsai of Nisibis (d. 502), Jacob of Sarug (d. 521) and others. Singing – specifically, the singing of poetry – characterized every aspect of Syriac liturgy: its hymns, prayers, supplications, responses, and even its preaching. For these Christians, singing was the life of the Church. As an anonymous Nativity hymn of the fifth century extolled:

Today let all creation thunder out in praise,
Let each mouth give a shout of 'glory',
Let tongues be stirred with a song of praise.
In heaven, praise to the Lord,
And on earth, peace to all flesh,
For a Saviour has shone forth for the world.⁵

The choir sang the verse, the entire gathering joined in the refrain, and sure enough, every voice praised the Lord in song.

The music of the ancient Syriac Church has not survived, although the titles of different melodies were sometimes mentioned (as for the biblical Psalms), and the poetry continues to echo in liturgies to the present day.⁶ Nor are there any surviving Syriac treatises about music until mediaeval times.⁷ But for Ephrem and others, music in the form of sung poetry offered the most fitting, and indeed, the best expression of human worship. My question is: Why?

For the first part of this essay, I consider the ancient Syriac view that music was *useful* for liturgy because it was effective as a tool for education. In the second part,

4 King, *The Syriac World*, provides a rich assortment of essays covering history, language, literature, culture, and geographical spread, including into modernity.

5 Refrain: "In both height and depth have You resided,/ in the womb of Your Begetter, in hidden fashion, and [in] Mary's bosom, made manifest." Anonymous, "Hymns on Mary." 15.4, trans. Brock, *Bride of Light*, 70.

6 Ibrahim and Kiraz, "Ephrem's *Madrashé* and the Syriac Orthodox Beth Gazzo;" Gribomont, "La tradition liturgique des hymnes pascales de s. Ephrem."

7 Thomas of Edessa (sixth century) wrote a work titled "On *Qale* [= melodies or tones]", which does not survive; see Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom*, 91. Anton of Tagrit (ninth century), *Rhetoric* 5, canon 10, has a discussion on music and metre in which he viewed sacred music as a concession to humanity's sinful nature. Bar Hebraeus (fourteenth century), *Ethicon*, Memra I, ch. 5, offered a discussion of the liturgical system of tones often cited by modern musicologists. For the introduction of an eight tone system into certain of the West Syriac liturgical families, see Cody, "The Early History of the Octoechos in Syria," and Jeffrey, "The Earliest Oktoechoi." In her ground-breaking study of contemporary and traditional Syriac chant of Aleppo, *Sense and Sadness: Syriac Chant in Aleppo*, Tala Jarjour has argued for the inadequacy of terminology that appears to organize Syriac chant according to the Byzantine Octoechos system, since it does not in fact fit such categorization.

I ask what qualities made music *effective* in this way. I will suggest that music was effective pedagogically because it was *affective*: it had impact on singer and listener, alike. Dangerous music could lead astray. But singing truth in an ordered way could be a source of harmony and unison, both for the individual and for the larger church community. In the view of ancient Syriac Church leaders, musical worship brought order, purpose and value for every voice lifted in song.

1 MUSIC AS PEDAGOGY

We must begin by asking: what was late antique Syriac liturgy like, and what were its needs?

The fourth century was a turbulent time for Christians in the Byzantine Empire. At the century's start, Christianity was a small minority religion, newly legalized in 312 under the Emperor Constantine. Seventy years later, in 382, under the Emperor Theodosius I, it was declared the Empire's state religion. As the political fortunes of Christians improved, converts poured in. But many came without knowledge of the Bible and, as converts from polytheistic religions, without awareness of doctrine. In this context, liturgy expanded dramatically: first, to present a splendour worthy and reflective of imperial favour, and second, to provide instruction for the entering masses.⁸ In an era when only the wealthy had books and few people could read, other modes of instruction were needed. The liturgy, quite literally, became the church's school.

To a degree far greater than at any other time of history, liturgy in late antiquity focused on teaching the Bible and teaching doctrine.⁹ In Syriac liturgies, for example, the lectionaries of this period assign as many as ten or twelve, or even fifteen (!) biblical readings per service, drawn from both the Old and New Testaments.¹⁰ Biblical stories from both the Old and New Testaments also filled hymns and sermons, where they were retold with great relish and vivid imagination.¹¹ And although little church decoration survives to us from the time, we know that biblical scenes were an important part of church décor in frescoes or tapestries, or the ornamentation of liturgical vessels.¹² Every aspect of worship served to teach the Bible, and also to interpret it rightly, to present sound theological understanding.¹³ Given the needs and circumstances of the time, what would be effective methods for education?

In Syriac liturgies, sung poetry was the method of choice. This poetry falls into two broad categories, *madrashē* and *memre*.¹⁴ *Madrashē* (s. *madrasha*) were poems in a variety of metres and melodies, arranged in stanzas punctuated by a refrain (Ephrem the Syrian wrote in more than 50 different metres, but the vast majority were in simple metrical patterns, easy to sing). The chanter or choir sang the verses, and the choir led the congregation in the refrains: a sung dialogue took place. Significantly, the singing of these doctrinal hymns was assigned to women's choirs, comprising consecrated virgins called Daughters of the Covenant. Syriac canon law in both the Byzantine and Persian Empires mandated that every village, town, and city church must have a women's choir to sing the *madrashē*, the doctrinal hymns,

8 E.g., Page, *The Christian West and its Singers*, 131-71.

9 Harvey, *Song and Memory*, 18-25; eadem, "Bearing Witness."

10 F.C. Burkitt, "The Early Syriac Lectionary System."

11 Harvey, *Song and Memory*.

12 E.g., Spier, *Picturing the Bible*.

13 Krueger, "Christian Piety and Practice in the Sixth Century."

14 See Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography (iii): Syriac."

in the liturgy (daily, weekly, festal, and otherwise) to teach their congregations.¹⁵ Women's liturgical choirs continue to sing in Syriac churches at the present time.¹⁶

The other form of poetry was the *memra* (pl. *memre*), the metrical "homily", comprised of isosyllabic lines, that is: syllables of equal length, in simple couplets of 5+ 5, 7+7, or 12+12 syllables per line.¹⁷ These were chanted or intoned by a male liturgical agent, usually a priest or bishop. Occasionally, these, too, were punctuated by refrains from choir and congregation. Both the hymns and the metrical homilies treated a wide variety of subjects on the life of faith, biblical storytelling, exegesis and basic doctrinal instruction. Both were described in ancient sources as musically performed by singing. Both are called the same terms: "sweet songs," "wonderful melodies", "sweet tones", "pleasant antiphons".¹⁸

Syriac liturgical rubrics tell us that the scripture lections were "read".¹⁹ But I think we can assume this means chanted cantillation or melodic recitation. Often, Syriac hymns and homilies refer to biblical prophets, apostles and saints as "singing" their words or teachings. For example, Jacob of Sarug described the Canaanite Woman from Matthew 15 as "shouting" and "singing" her plea to Jesus to heal her daughter. Jacob's phrase echoed the sound of the women's choir who sang in between the lectionary readings immediately before he sang his homily.²⁰ Also, Narsai of Nisibis preached on the marriage between the Church as Bride and Christ the Bridegroom as a wedding banquet of song, "loud", "delightful", "an indescribable joy", in which the biblical prophets and kings, and the saints of the Church, each in turn sang their prophecies and praise, in a musical extravaganza.²¹ Since Narsai's homily included a refrain, its performance included the voices of the living congregation, musically joining the biblical past with the liturgical present for the story the homily told.²² I think these words for "singing" in Narsai's sermon correlate to the singing that was the liturgical performance of the lections, the hymns and responses in between, and the sermon itself. Jacob of Sarug often refers to his own homilies as "songs", and to his preaching as "singing".²³ I think such passages are clues to performance: the melodic chanting or intonation of *memre* as sung poetry. To the ancient Syriac ear, this was as musical as the performance of hymns.

I spoke of liturgy as the Church's school. In fact, Syriac schools of this era used melodic recitation and sung responses for their lessons, exactly these same pedagogical methods I describe for liturgy. *Madrashé* and *memre*, the same forms of sung poetry, provided form and content for much of the Syriac religious education for boys and girls training to become liturgical agents: deacons, deaconesses, Sons and Daughters of the Covenant, and other clergy as early as Ephrem the Syrian in the fourth century. Ephrem's extraordinary corpus of hymns is one of the greatest

15 Harvey, "Performance as Exegesis."

16 See Bakker, "Fragments of a Liturgical World;" Bakker Kellogg, "Perforating Kinship;" Bakker Kellogg, "Ritual Sounds, Political Echoes."

17 See now Griffith, "The Poetics of Scriptural Reasoning."

18 The point is emphasized in Griffith, "The Poetics of Scriptural Reasoning;" see also Harvey, "Holy Sound."

19 The Syriac root *q-r-*, used to designate both the agents as well as the ritual actions of the reading of scripture in liturgical contexts, connotes reading (aloud), reciting, proclaiming. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2: cols. 3712-3718.

20 Jacob of Sarug, "On the Canaanite Woman", ll. 36, 47-8, 111, 127. Jacob's treatment of her voice, both as singing and as shouting, is quite arresting, albeit a shared tradition with Ephrem and also Narsai. See especially Walsh, "Holy Boldness;" Harvey et al., *Jacob of Sarug's Homilies on Women Whom Jesus Met*, 4-6.

21 Narsai, "On the Sanctification of the Church."

22 The refrain: "O Church of the Nations pay homage to Christ, for he planted you on earth and registered you in heaven, my bothers!" Narsai, "On the Sanctification of the Church," Harrak, p. 10 and n. 2.

23 Harvey, "Holy Sound;" Harvey, "The Poet's Prayer."

poetic achievements of Christian history. But Ephrem's extant corpus also includes *madrashé* and *memre* he composed as instructional texts for his students, both women and men.²⁴ Some of these texts served in Syriac schools for centuries afterwards.²⁵ There were famous schools such as those of Edessa or Nisibis, and small schools in the villages. Surviving curricular documents and descriptions tell us that learning liturgy in late antiquity required learning the music, and also learning correct ("orthodox") biblical interpretation and doctrinal instruction.²⁶ One did not only study music; music was how one learned. When the Catholicos Mar Isho'-Yahb III in the seventh century established a new liturgical school near the monastery of Beth 'Abhe in Iraq, the monks complained of "the sound of the chanting of the psalms and the singing of the hymns and the offices, and by the noise of the voices of the school boys and of those who keep vigil [by night]".²⁷ Music was used in the schools to teach liturgy, the Bible and doctrine. And, in churches, music was used to teach the Bible and doctrine in the liturgy itself.

An anonymous sixth century hagiography presented the liturgical work of St Ephrem the Syrian (fourth century) in exactly this way.²⁸ The story goes that Edessa was filled with competing religions, fuelled by popular hymns. Ephrem saw that hymns were an effective and efficient way to teach religion. So, he composed a variety of orthodox hymns, and he decided to train choirs of women to perform them:

Seeing that all the people [of Edessa] were attracted to singing and that (human) nature was drawn (to it), blessed Ephrem ... assembled and organized the Daughters of the Covenant and taught them hymns (*madrashé*) and songs (*seblatha*) and antiphons (*onyatha*) and intercessions (*ba'watha*). He arranged songs (*qinyatha*) and verses (*mushhatha*) in rhythmic measures and transmitted his wisdom to all the learned and wise women. And he mixed in the hymns and chants sweet melodies which were pleasing and delightful to their hearers. He put in the hymns words of subtle meaning and spiritual knowledge.²⁹

In other words, these were not just pleasant songs; they were songs filled with meaning, with truth, offered in a musically attractive form. The passage continues with a description of Ephrem's rehearsal method for the women's choir. Not only did the women master an entire range of hymnography (as we see listed here), but they did so through an instructional method of musical dialogue. In turn, the women's singing attracted the laity, in effect rehearsing the entire congregation.

Every day the Daughters of the Covenant would gather in the churches on the feasts of the Lord and on Sundays and for the commemoration of the martyrs. And [Ephrem], like a father, would stand among them (as) a harpist of the Spirit, arranging various songs for them and demonstrating and teaching and alternating melodies until the entire city gathered around him.³⁰

24 Wickes, *Bible and Poetry*; Wickes, "Between Liturgy and School."

25 To be sure, Ephrem also composed in prose for his students. Excellent examples are collected in Ephrem, *Selected Prose Works*; or, Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*. His *Commentary on the Diatessaron* shows evidence of repeated use and revision in a school context for many generations after: see Lange, *The Portrayal of Christ*. For the reconstruction of this commentary, see McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*.

26 Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom*, 87-93, 163-6, and *passim*, stresses the musical form of pedagogy, both at the School of Nisibis and in the local schools of outlying villages and towns. Again, I am not suggesting that music was the only form of pedagogy used in these schools. Rather, I am noting its fundamental place both in the curriculum and as a mode of teaching. On the School of Nisibis, see also Possekel, "Go and Set Up for Yourself Beautiful Laws..."; and Possekel, "Selbstverständnis und Bildungsauftrag der Schule von Nisibis."

27 Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2.8, Budge, 2:148.

28 Anonymous, *Life of Ephrem*, ch. 31.

29 Anonymous, *Life of Ephrem*, ch. 31, Amar, at CSCO 630/ Scr. Syr. 243, pp. 79-80 (V).

30 Anonymous, *Life of Ephrem*, ch. 31, Amar, at CSCO 630/ Scr. Syr. 243, pp. 79-80 (V). The terminology in this passage indicates variations on "song" or "hymn" or "melody". During Ephrem's lifetime, these words did not signify different hymnographical forms. If they are meant to correspond to particular hymn types, they are

The results were impressive. According to Jacob of Sarug, Ephrem taught the choirs and “the church resounded with the pure voices of pious women”.³¹

Hence the singing of poetry (both *madrashé* and *memre*, hymns and homilies) was more than a matter of artistic performance. Singing poetry had practical purpose, whether in the classroom or in the liturgy. Melodic strophes and intoned couplets were effective vehicles for the teacher; sung responses and recitation were effective strategies for the student. In schools, music was the tool to train liturgical leaders and agents; and in liturgy, music was the tool to disseminate that education to the larger church, with the congregation’s participation.

2 MUSIC AS THERAPY, MUSIC AS ORDER

Now we must ask: *why* was music useful in this way?

Music was an effective tool for teaching because music was *affective*: it made an impact on those who sang and those who heard. As such, music could be dangerous. Syriac writers, like others, feared the perils music could pose for the unwitting. Heretical hymns, songs from the theatre, or pagan or Jewish festivals, even the lure of an exceptionally beautiful voice could lead astray. Syriac church leaders admonished that such songs incited the passions, roused the emotions, and clouded one’s reason, lingering in the mind and turning one’s disposition towards sinful tendencies.

When Ephrem saw – or rather, *heard* – the popularity of the heretics’ songs, he fought fire with fire: he composed beautiful hymns of truth. Syriac tradition remembers a number of its greatest hymnographers for the same motivation, and the same strategy. Rabbula of Edessa, Narsai of Nisibis and Jacob of Sarug are also commemorated for the power of their sung poetry in opposition to dangerous songs.³² The strategy was more than a battle plan in a religiously competitive society. It was also a therapy. Music could heal a divided self; it could unite a divided community.

The problem with dangerous music, for these authors, was its ability to distract and fragment a person, turning one’s attention away from truth – away from God. One became disordered in oneself. The larger result was a disordered, fragmented community: instead of one true religion, or one true Church, there was the disorder of many.

Isaac of Antioch described the music of a pagan festival in Antioch as messy and chaotic: “Everyone composed and learned melodies in every genre,/ so that every person is pleased by his own voice, and delights in his [own] singing”.³³ The noise disturbed him so he could not sleep. Isaac’s strategy in response was to chant psalms out loud. He describes the process as physical (using tongue and lips to chant the words), mental (using the mind to understand the words), and spiritual (as the meaning of the psalm had its impact on his soul). As the act of chanting calmed himself, Isaac marvelled, “There is no [other] grace such as this...there is no [other] music such as this”,³⁴ “how much more beautiful are our songs than [theirs]!”³⁵

the work of a later editor. The story that Ephrem’s compositions were prompted by the challenge of heretical hymns is also told by Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.16.

31 Jacob of Sarug, “Homily on Ephrem”, vv. 98-101; Amar, 48-9. See now Harvey, “Training the Women’s Choir.”

32 Harvey, “Holy Sound.”

33 Isaac of Antioch, “On the Vigil which took place in Antioch,” ll. 13-14, Kitchen, 104.

34 Isaac of Antioch, “On the Vigil which took place in Antioch,” ll. 70, 75-6, Kitchen, 106.

35 Isaac of Antioch, “On the Vigil which took place in Antioch,” l. 93, Kitchen, 107.

What Isaac described at the individual level, Thomas of Marga described at the collective. When the churches in Iraq fell into what Thomas called a confusion of “tunes, melodies, and airs and songs” due to lax episcopal oversight, Thomas described it this way: “Every country, and town, and monastery, and school had its own hymns and songs of praise and tunes, and sang them in its own way, and if a teacher or a scholar happened to be away from his own school he was obliged to stand [silent] like an ignorant man.”³⁶ The situation led to dramatic liturgical reforms.³⁷ When everyone knew what to sing and how to sing, musical order was restored. So, too, was church order.

And this was Jacob of Sarug’s concern about the sounds of civic life. A vivid example was his description of songs from the theatre: “responses (or chorus, chants) which are not true; troublesome and confused sounds; melodies which attract children; ordered and cherished songs; skilful chants, lying canticles... [In the theatre] your ear is captivated by song.”³⁸ Not unlike the liturgy, the theatre told its stories with melodies and verses that lingered in one’s ears, whether young or old. Its songs were delightful, pleasing, and insidious.

Civic voices pulled people in all directions. As Jacob complained, they could seduce a person to come to church late or to leave church early, before the service ended; they distracted the mind so that one was restless in church, present in body but elsewhere in thoughts. The response, Jacob sang, should be the music of liturgy: “when [the soul] hears melody [*qal*] of liturgy in God’s house (*teshmeshta*), / she is moved spiritually with the love of God.”³⁹

In his homily “On the Partaking of the Holy Mysteries”, Jacob extols liturgy as a school that offered a powerful therapy of song: “The church in the world is like a teacher to the human being, / teaching, educating, and treating the wounds of all who come to her.”⁴⁰ Its music, he chanted, made its impact on the soul both through the experience of listening and through singing: music received, and music offered. Jacob urged his congregation to listen to the melodic chants of Psalms, lections, and sermon. He exhorted them to attend closely to the women’s choir, “with glorious voices,” for these choirs were a gift of God’s infinite wisdom. The more one heard the hymns of the liturgy, Jacob assured his listeners, the more the soul became “pure, modest, and full of hope and discernment.”⁴¹ But it was not enough to hear this music. Jacob exhorted that one must join in: sing loudly and clearly hymns, responses, creed and prayers. One must sing with the priest, cry out, shout forth, raise one’s voice in witness, supplication, petition, and prayer. Singing these “truthful songs” every day, Jacob urged, annoyed Satan and vanquished the dangers of the civic world.⁴²

Chanting the Psalms with diligent attention restored serenity and order to Isaac of Antioch, just as the reform of liturgical music restored harmony and peace to the east Syriac churches of whom Thomas of Marga wrote. In turn, Jacob of Sarug exhorted that liturgical song restored peace and unity to the faithful participant; and it did more. The harmonious *and loud* music of liturgy, sung well, brought order to a disordered world. According to Jacob, the loud singing of the liturgy rang out victoriously, setting the world aright:

36 Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 3.1, Budge, 2: 293.

37 Discussed in Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom*, 164-6.

38 Jacob of Sarug, “On the Spectacles”, Homily 3, Moss, 105.

39 Jacob of Sarug, “On the Partaking”, l. 165, Harrak, 22.

40 Jacob of Sarug, “On the Partaking”, ll. 179-180, Harrak, 24.

41 Jacob of Sarug, “On the Partaking”, ll. 175-6, Harrak, 22.

42 Jacob of Sarug, “On the Partaking”, l. 214, Harrak, 28.

The sound of Your praise [O Lord] thunders awesomely among the congregations,
and through it the impudent song of idolatry was silenced.
From Your hymns, Your sermons, and Your teachings
the entire inhabited world shouted out and thundered to sing praise.⁴³

Such imagery of liturgy carried deep theological meaning. But there are social and political implications as well.⁴⁴ Here is Ephrem's description of liturgy as a choral garland of (musical) flowers:

Let the chief pastor [bishop] weave together his homilies like flowers,
Let the priests make a garland of their ministry,
The deacons of their reading,
Strong young men of their jubilant shouts, children of their psalms,
Chaste women of their songs, chief citizens of their benefactions,
Ordinary folk of their manner of life.
Refrain: Blessed is He who gave us so many opportunities for good!⁴⁵

Here, liturgy is ordered; each part, each person, each voice, has a purpose and a contribution; each carries value and authority, an authority appropriate to its rank. These are not rival, competing authorities. Rather, liturgy presents an array of authorities, a mosaic, if you will: the metrical voices of bishop and priest, the intoned lections of the deacons and alleluias of the boys' choirs, the doctrinal hymns of the women's choir, the responses and sung refrains of the congregation. Each voice matters; none are extraneous. The music of liturgy, then, when sung well, maps society, or the world at large, in ideal form: differentiated, ordered and harmonious. The liturgies of the late antique churches involved much outdoor celebration; processions were common in villages and cities alike. These processions moved through civic streets and squares, ordered in liturgical ranks, adorned with censers and candles, in times of joy and times of sorrow.⁴⁶ As public events, processions also carried public meanings. The voices of the women's choirs, for example, resounded in the public square, often and loudly. Laity, children, slaves: their voices sounded forth with purpose and meaning.⁴⁷

According to Jacob of Sarug, liturgy, like music and poetry, places words in their right order by metre, by melody, just as liturgy places all beings, of every nature, in heaven and on earth, in their right order, in relation to one another; and all in rightly ordered relation to God.⁴⁸ In this final passage I quote, the word I translate "voice" (*qal*) could also be translated melody or tune in every line. Here is Jacob's description of liturgy:

And voices upon voices crowd around [Christ] from every side,
...
The voices of the nations who clap their hands to give praise,
and the voice of handmaids grouped in choirs to make a joyful noise.
The voice of churches who sing praise with their harps,
and the voice of monasteries who make a joyful noise to him [Christ] with their alleluias.
The voice of priests who consecrate him with the gentle waving of their hands,
and the voice of saints who bless him in every place.
The voice of men who sing praise with their tongues,

43 Jacob of Sarug, "On Elisha" IV, ll. 21-30; Kaufman, 176. The passage continues with particular praise for the singing of the women's choir.

44 See Harvey, "Patristic Worlds."

45 Ephrem, "Hymns on Resurrection," 2.9, in Brock and Kiraz, *Ephrem the Syrian*, 176-7.

46 Harvey, "Patristic Worlds."

47 Harvey, "Women and Children in Syriac Christianity."

48 Harvey, "Holy Sound."

The voice of women who exalt him with their *madrashē* [doctrinal hymns].
 The voice of children who repeat before him [...]
 The voice of teachers who set their knowledge in array before him.
 For praise of the Father, the Son wakens all creation.⁴⁹

This is the best description of ancient Syriac liturgy that I know. It is, quite simply, a description of the church, entire and collective, in song.

In conclusion: Late antique Syriac Christians described and performed liturgy as music because they valued the functional, pragmatic capacities of music. Singing was an effective form of teaching and an effective form of learning. Further, singing was effective in the formation of faithful, ethical disposition – that is, a serene and unified self – whether for the individual believer or the larger church community. Finally, singing enabled the Church as one voice, in unison and in harmony, to know and bear witness to its God. The music of liturgy, rightly sung, was worship in its fullest expression: all of creation joined in right relation to one another and to the Creator, as words joined syllables in metrical melodies to sing forth the one resounding Word of truth.

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CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
 FC = Fathers of the Church
J ECS = *Journal of Early Christian Studies*
 PO = *Patrologia Orientalis*
 Scr. Syr. = *Scriptores Syri*
 SLNPNF = Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
 Sub. = *Subsidia*

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⁴⁹ Jacob of Sarug, "Against the Jews," 7: 529-42 (my trans.).

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THE SPIRITUAL DIMENSION OF A CHURCH MUSICIAN

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Let the word of Christ richly dwell within you as you teach and admonish one another with all wisdom, and as you sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs with gratitude in your hearts to God. And whatever you do, in word or deed, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through Him. (Col 3:16-17)

In the Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, we may find "word and deed", but also "singing". Why is singing, why is music, so important in the Church?

"Music does something that words cannot. It goes to the deepest point of who we are, the centre of our person. It is a quintessential part of what it means to worship God, to be able to sing to God", says Archimandrite Sergius of St Tikhon's monastery. Metropolitan Hilarion of Eastern America and New York (ROCOR) reminds us of a unique historical event: "Through music, through beauty many people come to the church, come to the faith. This is what happened more than 1000 years ago, with the envoys of Prince Vladimir of Kiev. They attended services in the St Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople, and they were overwhelmed by the beauty and grandeur of the divine services." These pagans, having seen the glorious temple, the multitude of priests and deacons with all their movements and sizeable choirs chanting at the divine service, returned then to Kiev and told Prince Vladimir, "we no longer knew whether we were in heaven or on earth."

This played an important role in bringing Rus into the Orthodox Christian faith. And church music today also plays an important missionary role in converting many people to Orthodoxy.

In Serbia, after a long period of communism, from the late 1980s and 90s, church choirs became more and more popular, especially among young people. In my choir founded in 1987, St Stephen of Dečani (Novi Sad), more than 400 mostly young people joined throughout the years; one third of them were baptized after joining the choir. That says a lot about the important mission of church music in today's Serbia. We had the Bishop's blessing to let unbaptized people sing in church choir at the liturgy and other services (as long as they were preparing for baptism).

"Music was the first consolation that Heaven sent to Man after the Fall", wrote the Serbian Bishop St Varnava (Nastić)¹. It brings the importance of music even further as it becomes a means on our path to Salvation.

¹ Russian text available: "О музыке" ("About Music"), writings of St Varnava, accessed September 29, 2020, <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/29886.html>



Figure 1. A fresco depicting church choir leaders.
(Photograph supplied by author.)

There are examples of church art that illustrate the importance of church musicians in the early ages. In beautiful frescos in fourteenth century Serbian monasteries (Patriarchate of Peć in Kosovo and St Mark's monastery in North Macedonia) we see how the church choir leaders (protopsaltes) wear special head coverings that differentiate them from the rest of the congregation.



Figures 2 and 3. A fresco and its detail depicting church choir leaders.
(Photographs supplied by author.)

Bishop Basil of Wichita and Mid-America (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America) reminds us that “there are few ministries of the Church that require the devotion and the dedication that church singing does. The church conductors and church singers are as important to the parish as is the holy table itself. As there can be no liturgy without the holy table, there can be no liturgy without them.” In his opinion it is sinful for someone not to sing who has been given the gift to sing. Singing in the church is a ministry, a kind of ordination. Canon 15, from the Council of Nicaea, the Council of the fourth century, makes it clear that only canonical singers should be appointed for that kind of ministry in the Church.

That ordination, even if it is not a question of ordained clergy, implies a great responsibility, a great sense of duty and a privilege that is given to a church singer. Bishop Basil reminds the singers that they physically jump into something that goes on perpetually.

We jump in and join with the angels for a couple of hours, and then we jump back out. The liturgy does not begin with ‘Blessed is the Kingdom’ and your ‘Amen’, and it does not end with ‘Through the prayers of our Holy Fathers’ and your ‘Amen’. Those phrases only define the time that we participate in the liturgy which goes on perpetually before the throne of God.

Standing before the throne of God humbles, I hope, all of us church musicians. It is a humiliation, that in the end, should be something that elevates us, that exalts us, something that gives us wing. The choir leads the congregation in prayer. The invitation to prayer is put out by the deacon or archdeacon. The deacon invites prayer, but the choir leads the congregation in the prayer itself. “Choir leading requires self-motivation and humility, a delicate, yet crucial balance. Humility is a life-long process of learning! As with many people in other professions, they don’t always go together”, says Father Sergei Glagolev.

A church choir leader should be competent and have a great knowledge (not just essentials) of music, but also know well the order of church services. Being well organized in order to prepare music settings for each service is just one of the qualities that is required from a church conductor. Apart from many professional music tasks, a church conductor must not forget about his/her spiritual dimension, even if not much time is left for personal prayer. The Fathers say that there are many prayers suitable for the preparation for a service, but “now lay aside all earthly cares” is especially recommended. It is important that a conductor is an example for the singers, in many aspects. An ideal example is St John of Damascus, who was a trained poet, musician and theologian.



Figure 4. Old Church book illustration. (Photograph supplied by author.)

Bishop Basil warns us that “we cannot buy humility; we cannot merely appear to be contrite. Humility and contrition are states of the heart and soul that then manifest themselves in the behaviour of body and attitude, and words, and psalmody. But, there is no choir practice to rehearse humility. They are things that we need to work on individually. Then, we join our individual humility and contriteness in the beauty of singing, that comes to the listeners/congregation, in a most beautiful and mysterious way. When God accepts your offering, He does not keep it. He will take it, transform it, and send it back to touch the hearts, and the minds and the souls of

you and your congregants." The object of our worship is not the congregation but God Himself, and we do things well for Him. Everyone else may benefit, but they cannot be and must not be our consideration. Our consideration is that we offer God our best. That means the best in sound, the best in taste.

It is beautifully explained by Bishop Basil: "...for the church singer it is not (only) the tenor, alto, or soprano who stands next to you we need to listen to, but the angels who lead us in our singing. Those are the voices we need to hear and with which we blend our voices." Music is not enough, without faith and Liturgy it's nothing. Orthodox life is, by definition, a liturgical life. "The key is the turning of the heart to Christ, no matter what we are doing and where we are. The Liturgy provides the model", says Father Sergei Glagolev.

A short quotation from the Serbian Bishop Atanasije (Jevtić), "theology is at the kliros", indicates how important and meaningful text is in church music, and therefore also singing those texts.

The devotion of church musician should be appreciated and encouraged by priests and congregation, and sometimes it is. I remember from personal experience how the late Bishop Sava (Vuković) of Šumadija (Serbian Orthodox Church) did not want to sit at table for lunch after a liturgy before the church choir had been seated. That gesture was precisely a way to mark the special place and importance of church musicians.

Musical knowledge, promptness and dedication, blending of voices etc. are important, but we need also to speak about humility and contrition. The holy fathers do not write about beautiful voices, but about humility and contrition.

St John Chrysostom teaches that we "ought to offer up doxologies to God with fear and a contrite heart, in order that they may be welcome, like fragrant incense." Either humility or contrition has come up in almost every quotation from the canons. Most parts of the Canons that deal with singing in church, refer to "forcing nature", i.e. the loudness and manner of singing. St Meletios the Confessor says: "Prayer with musical chants and melodies, loudly voiced tumult and shouting is heard by men; but before God our Maker, the prayer which proceeds from a man's conscience and God-imbued intellect stands before God as a welcome guest, while the former is cast out." There are choirs which make "loudly voiced tumult and shouting." This quotation from St Meletios does not imply that aesthetic beauty is the only criterion for chanting. A choir needs be as aesthetically perfect as it is able, because God not only expects, but He accepts only our best. If our best sounds like "a loudly voiced tumult and shouting." but it is indeed our best, then God hears us. It is a matter of ability, but sometimes a matter of taste, which is difficult, even impossible to discuss.

St Simon, the founder of Simonos Petra Monastery on Mount Athos says that "at church services we should chant with solemnity and devoutness, and not with disorderly vociferation." If we listen to various types of praising God through singing, we may find some "loud" performances, which are very deep and close to God in their own manner. Such is the singing of the Don Cossack choir, led by Serge Jaroff. There is a certain "émigré sentimentality" in their interpretation, with acceptable and understandable "loudness", coming from the great tragedy of being expelled from their own country and the sadness that it produced. Another acoustic level of that same emotion might be heard in the recordings of the St Alexander Nevsky Cathedral Choir in Paris. It is not loud, but at some moments there is a sound close to weeping in their performance. But even with this excessive

emotionality in sound and expression, it is understandable and produces more than a suitable interpretation for a church service.

In the singing of the famous St Sergius Trinity Lavra male choir, led by the famous Archimandrite Matfey Mormyl we may notice certain tendencies, such as sudden changes in dynamics. But, in the words of one of his students, conductor-regent Vladimir Gorbik, it is well explained: "When you listen to this choir, only one thing comes to mind: the triumph of Orthodoxy. He demanded of his singers a combination of professionalism and spirituality. It is specifically because of this that you got a completely stunning effect." One of today's most appreciated church choirs, the male choir of Sretensky monastery in Moscow, has a somewhat different style of performance, more balanced, but also rich in musical expression. Ways of performance change through time and circumstances, even in the sacred art which is outlined by the canons of the Church.

I have experienced an unpleasant sound from some church choirs, though they were singing quite suitable settings at services; and I have also heard prayerful and spiritually uplifting performances of sacred music in concert halls, where the spirituality could be heard and felt in the most complex concert settings. It is not the music itself, the setting, the arrangement or the type of music (unison or four-part) that uplifts the spirit: it is the interpretation. How skilled and yet how humble the performer is.

How to sing, how to choose the repertoire for the service? What is suitable, liturgical, and may it be beautiful at the same time? We may find answers in the Canons that speak about sacred images (the Council in Nicaea in the eighth century, which dealt with the iconoclasts, has 22 Canons, and three of them speak about sacred images). "The composition of religious imagery is not left to the initiative of the artist, but is formed upon principles laid down by the Catholic Church and by religious tradition... The execution alone belongs to the painter, the selection and arrangement of subject belongs to the Fathers." The Seventh Ecumenical Council, Nicaea II, set an historic precedent by validating the use of sacred images in our churches and our homes. But the Church has never established an "official" style of sacred art. While there have been manuals written for artists by other artists to guide them in creating sacred art, there is, as far as we know, no written instruction with the authority of the Church, that dictates how an artist is to create sacred imagery. The same is true of church music, whose performance too, belongs to the artist.

It is, therefore, all the more important that the artist who dedicates his or her gifts to the creation of sacred art, be thoroughly grounded in the faith and the artistic traditions of the past. It is a mystery, art in the Church. The esteemed movie director Andrey Tarkovski expressed many times his thoughts about responsibility, sacrifice and importance of the artist in this world: "The crucial question of man's existence is his consciousness of himself as a spiritual being"; or "An artist who has no faith is like a painter who was born blind"; or "The idea of infinity cannot be expressed in words or even described, but it can be apprehended through art, which makes infinity tangible. The absolute is only attainable through faith and in the creative act"...

Let us remind ourselves of an astounding mosaic from a mediaeval church in Ravenna (sixth century), where the presentation of Our Lord's Transfiguration is quite unusual.



Figure 5. Ravenna mosaics.
(Photograph supplied by author.)

In some commentaries on the Canons we may find that “trills and an excessive variation or modulation in melodies” are not suitable for church services. The misunderstanding starts when we try to understand these words literally and without exception.

St John Koukouzelis, the reformer of Byzantine chant, whose renewed way of chanting endured until the beginning of the nineteenth century, enriched and refreshed Byzantine music with the “papadic” style. It is characterized by its wide melodic scope, described and explained in his book “The Great Ison of Papadic Chant. This famous textbook from the fifteenth century was called the “whip for singers”, because many novelties in singing and in modulations were difficult to execute as they required virtuosity. However,

it was suitable for church services, without any doubt, even with ornaments and modulations. The interpretation is what is important, not the presence of modulations or ornaments, not the way a chant was composed, whether it is unison or four-part, or sung by “loud” male choirs. It is about the presence of contrition and humility in the performance of church music, not about its form or style.

A wholeness that comes from humility and contrition in harmony with considerable musical knowledge is what makes a good church conductor, as vividly described in an anecdote: the Serbian Patriarch Pavle, once after a liturgy said to a young boy at the kliros: You are not a good chanter. The boy replied, self-confidently: Your Holiness, every bird sings with its own voice. Then the Patriarch answered: Yes, but in the forest, not in the church.

Father John Meyendorff writes: “In Orthodoxy, theology and art are inseparable”, and also: “The words and the music together form a whole which is greater than the sum of the parts in our music”. Therefore, some expressive elements of music, like dynamics, are not only suitable, but also desirable, if they are done according to the text and not merely to express someone’s own personal taste. Chanting with understanding and contrition and submitting ourselves to the text. Choir singers should submit themselves to the director and directors submit themselves and the choir to the text.

Should we encourage more participation by the congregation, and if so, how might this best be accomplished? We understand the reality that some people prefer to stand in silence while the clergy and choir engage in dialogue. In some churches it is forbidden to sing with the choir, while in some the whole congregation sings plainchant. Church conductors sometimes find themselves with a problem, which is, more or less, a result of the lack of communication with the parish priest. The priest wants to include more people in the parish life and engage non-singers in services. He even sometimes invites people to sing who will never come to a rehearsal. They just show up. That is a nightmare for any conductor. It would be ideal for church services that those who know the music sing louder and those who do not sing softer and listen more, so that everyone takes part. But in reality, it is not easy at all to accomplish. Father Sergei Glagolev says there are three liturgical sounds: Trained choir (must be rehearsed); entire congregation; and the cantors.

There is room for everyone, but they must be balanced. Good organization and good communication between conductor and a priest is needed.

In the past, church music was performed only as a part of a church service. In modern times, it is also performed at concerts very often. There are pros and cons with this practice and there are suggestions that I, as a conductor, have also heard from the clergy, as to which hymns could be sung at concerts and which hymns should not.

In my opinion, performing sacred music in concerts is an invitation to the divine service which we send to the audience. At concerts we invite people to church. A divine service is the only suitable frame for church music. On the other hand: how can concerts of sacred music serve as real missionary work? Metropolitan Hilarion (Alfeev), who is also a composer and author of several oratorios on Orthodox texts, says that he writes concert settings on the texts from the Holy Week services, because it is necessary to explain in all possible ways the complex meaning of Holy Week to modern man. Such concerts are real missionary work. And yet, liturgy and subsequently singing at the liturgy is the centre of a church musician's life. "Every service in the Church and every word of liturgical prayer has the potential to become an encounter with God", says Metropolitan Hilarion. It is the task of us in the Church to reveal this to others.

It is not easy to endure being a highly competent musician and a humble person at the same time, and that exactly is what is required of a church conductor. May this wise thought – a question asked by Father Miloš Vesin from the Serbian Church in Chicago – be guidance for every church conductor in acquiring spiritual dimension: "Do you have the strength to be but a link in a chain?"



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CONDUCTOR AS MIRROR: HOW GESTURE DIRECTLY IMPACTS THE TONE OF THE CHOIR

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In talking about conducting and gesture, I hope to discuss the ways in which the shape of the hand is a reflection of the shape of singers mouths, an awareness of the impact of posture, breath and relaxation, and to highlight three to four kinaesthetic tricks that can be immediately applicable to most choirs and their common vocal technique issues.

In order to make the best use of these ideas, I recommend that the reader cycle through a few of these ideas, testing them out with their choirs, and then circling back to understand further the impacts of various kinaesthetic movements on sound. Additionally, the greatest reflection comes from videotaping rehearsals, and then watching and noting at which points the sound of the choir suffers and how the gesture might be adapted to problem solve the vocal issues.

This process is a humbling one. A conductor must first admit that 90% of the problems in a choir are due to the conductor. However, it can be an encouraging admission because it also means that most of our challenges with our choirs can be solved purely by changing our gesture: they can be solved non-verbally and without any rehearsal! And how many of us struggle with too little rehearsal time? A true process of self-reflection can improve the choir without any rehearsal time involved; not that I am advocating for no rehearsals – I am merely being realistic.

Choirs must be taught to watch conductors. While this may sound obvious, many choirs have learned to do one of two things: they watch the conductor and sing what they see (sometimes with beautiful results) or they have been taught *not* to watch the conductor. This second statement might sound foolish, but it is all too common. If a choir is verbally taught to sing a certain way but that is contradicted consistently by the gesture of the conductor, the choir will eventually teach themselves not to watch (e.g. “sing more smoothly and connectedly through this phrase” while the gesture remains choppy and disconnected).

Additional risks can follow teaching your choir to watch. The person on the podium becomes a mirror for the choir in nearly every way. The choir will mimic tension, breathing and posture almost involuntarily. This places a great deal of responsibility on the conductor to be aware of every facet of his or her body when conducting – not

just the hands and arms. Conducting therefore becomes a challenge not just for the external body, but for the breath, and also the mind. So often when the choir begins to struggle, the conductor, out of frustration, will introduce tension into the body, which will immediately be reflected by the choir and sound. When this happens, the problems invariably worsen. Instead, when the choir begins to struggle, the first step of the conductor should be a self-check. Am I breathing low? Is my body relaxed, or have I introduced tension into myself, and through me, to the choir as a whole? What do I need to do to re-centre and refocus myself, my gesture, and the sound of the choir? I will not suggest that this is an easy task for any of us. But it is one that gets easier with time and practice.

While breath is another important consideration for a conductor, I will not go into too much detail about correct breathing techniques or even too many exercises to improve breath control. There are endless examples to be found online and in choral method books. But I would like to take a few moments to consider that there are hundreds of different types of “correct” breaths, and there is great value in understanding how your gesture for the breath can set up singers for success.

Consider the following needs for your choir when thinking about the breath they need: Is the coming phrase low or high in the voice? What is the tempo? What is the first needed vowel? If the choir is going to sing “To Thee, O Lord” the breath can be taken almost as if sipping quickly through a straw, creating a lifted space in the mouth, and an “oo” vowel on the lips. When preparing for “Alleluia” a breath which creates a lifted soft palate is needed so the vowel is prepared with a tall “ah.” Without a unified vowel, even as early as the breath, a blended in-tune sound is much more challenging. This can be practiced with a kinaesthetic gesture for both conductor and singer. Have the choir imagine holding a large rubber band, and then stretch it vertically, one hand towards the floor and the other to the ceiling. Have them mirror you stretching the band as they (and you) take a breath in the shape of an “ah.” This will help create a lift in the soft palate on the breath and set up the shape of the mouth for Alleluia. If this is done several times, the choir will begin to set up a kinaesthetic memory for the gesture, and their muscular response to it. This allows you to draw on this gesture when conducting to produce that reaction from the choir. It can be subtle and still effective. One other consideration should be the tempo of the piece you are about to sing. A quick-paced Antiphon asks for a quick breath, while a Cherubic Hymn should begin with a focused, relaxed breath. Nothing will derail an entrance faster than a breath which does not match the tempo of the music.

Finally, as you consider both the breath, and the start of a piece, study carefully the shape of your hand and the way it affects the sound of the choir. This is, once again, where video will give the conductor the best feedback. The shape of the hand will often inform the shape of the mouth – literally. So begin a hymn and notice if the hand is flat, arched, lifted etc. And notice what the sound does as a result. There are many right answers here, and it is really about what sound a conductor wants from the choir at any given moment. To dig rather deeper here, take a single, simple response, and conduct it in three different ways. Conduct it ten different ways if you can. It is not for anyone to dictate the right or wrong choice here, but for the conductor to explore which gesture draws out the sound that they desire. Only once you know your options can you make an informed decision moving forward. Then search for consistency.

Begin with a simple response, e.g., Lord, have mercy. Conduct the refrain several times, playing with different gestures. Try a higher arm position, lower arm position, placing gestural weight on different words and syllables, sharper motions, and smoother motions. Encourage the singers to watch carefully and to match the gesture of the conductor. It is hoped that this will demonstrate two things: First, the conductor can watch back the different versions and note which helped create the best overall sound. Second, the singer will be actively engaged in *watching* the conductor.

While this overview is brief, the hope is that with practice, a choral director can begin using reflective practices to notice and inform the way his or her gesture can directly impact the tone of a choir. Additionally, the more a choir can be taught to watch, the more value the gesture has. Use of kinaesthetic tricks can create a common vocabulary between you and your choir. While you might use the “rubber band” stretch to create an “ah” breath in one place, that same gesture, once learned by the choir, can appear in other places with a similar impact. The more kinaesthetic tricks used, the more the options a conductor has to solve problems in real time as they arise. Above all, be mindful of the fact that the conductor is a mirror in every way. Your stress is their stress. Your tension is their tension. But fear not, because it also goes the other way. Your joy is their joy, and your energy is their energy. Your prayerfulness is their prayerfulness. When you step in front of the choir, remember always that the work you do is work for God. If you can remain mindful of that, the choir will find themselves wrapped up in prayer through every word they sing. “Serve the Lord with gladness. Come before his presence with singing.” (Psalm 100)



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**IN MEMORIAM
KATY ROMANOU**

(B. ATHENS, 3 AUGUST 1939 - D. ATHENS, 22 MAY 2020)

The year 2020 has proven particularly challenging for most of us, in one way or another. It was during this year that the distinguished Greek musicologist Katy Romanou lost her battle with the greatest challenge with which she was ever faced. An incredibly dynamic, even if low profile, woman, she died aged 80 after a short illness, on 22 May, in the midst of the pandemic yet untouched by it. It was simply impossible for Katy to remain inactive, and her absence in the musicological world has been deeply felt.

Katy received her musical and musicological training in Greece and the USA. She studied the piano at the Athens Conservatoire. At the age of 20 she started touring the world as a member of the chorus, music instructor and drummer of the *Peiraiikon Theatron* of Dimitris Rondiris. If her love for travel did not originate in that experience, then she was surely at home during those summer tours in Europe, Asia, Canada, USA, Central and South America for ten years. It was during one of those tours that she made the decision to stay in the USA and study musicology at Indiana University Bloomington. Her five-year training at that prestigious institution earned her a Master of Music in Musicology and laid the ground for the independent spirit of her musicological research. Her influential, annotated translation of the *Great Theory of Music* by Chrysanthos of Madytos dates from the years of her Master's studies at Indiana Bloomington. The ambitious objective of this project, namely to identify the sources of Chrysanthos's work, in order to establish its connection with the ideology of the Enlightenment, is indicative of the wide perspective of her musicological enquiries, which characterizes her work as a whole. Her translation of the treatise has attracted the attention of many scholars and it was only natural that it would eventually be published, as it was, in 2010, by the Axion Estin Foundation.

Although widely acclaimed as a scholar of art music, Katy showed a genuine interest in Byzantine music early on. In order to gain a better insight into this tradition, while in Athens, she approached Markos Dragoumis to teach it to her. It is in Greece that she also completed her musicological studies, at doctoral level, with a thesis supervised by Giorgos Amargianakis, entitled 'Greek Journals as a Source for the Study of Modern Greek Music', which she completed in 1993. This

was the basis for her seminal two-volume monograph *Wandering National Music 1901-1912. Greek Music Periodicals as a Source for the Research of Neo-Hellenic Music*, which was put out by her dedicated publisher, Cultura, in 1996. This was one of the first extensive studies of musical life in Greece and it remains one of the most substantial works in the field, particularly because it looks at music as a unified cultural space, where art music coexists and interacts with Byzantine and traditional music. Its emphasis on institutions and cultural agents, rather than composers and works, also places it ahead of its time.

In her capacity as musicologist, Katy worked in multiple contexts. For several years (from 1974 until 1986) she was music critic for the prestigious Athenian newspaper *Kathimerini*. Between 1975 and 1981, she was producer of a series on the *Third Programme* of the Greek Radio and Television while Manos Hatzidakis was director of that institution. She also taught history of music in various conservatories (including the Athens Conservatoire), the State School of Dance, the Greek Open University, the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (where she held a permanent Professorship from 1994 until 2009), and after her retirement from the latter, at the European University of Cyprus for ten years. She supervised numerous doctorates, thus planting the seeds of her thought on Greek soil. During her tenure at the University of Athens, she was Principal Investigator of several research projects, on topics that ranged from the Corfu Philharmonic Society, the church polyphonic music of Corfu and Crete, to Greek art music, including its relationship with Serbian music (in collaboration with musicologists from the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts). The latter project remains one of few intercultural approaches to Greek art music, and led to the publication of the collected volume of essays *Serbian and Greek Art Music: A Patch to Western Music History* (Intellect Books, 2009).

Katy was an extremely prolific writer. Apart from the three books already mentioned, her publication list includes the only existing comprehensive monograph on Greek art music, entitled *Greek Art Music in the Modern Times* (Cultura, 2006 – an earlier, shorter version was published by the same publisher in 2000 under the title *A History of Neo-Hellenic Art Music*). Two collaborative books complement her contribution to the study of Greek music: one focusing on music at the Olympic Games over the period 1858-1896 (Ministry of Culture/Cultura, 2004), and the other on her findings from the research she conducted in Corfu relating to the local Philharmonic Society (Cultura, 2004). And so do numerous journal articles and book chapters, on a wide range of topics associated with Greece, published both in Greek and international publications.

Although she is mostly known for her writings on Greek art music, the scope of Katy's research and publications was much wider. For start, she was one of the first researchers of Greek music to maintain a comparative perspective, looking across cultural boundaries that have traditionally separated art forms (both 'high' and 'low'), as well as geographical borders. Her contribution to the Greek-Serbian project mentioned above is only one of several examples of her interest in unearthing complex historical and cultural relationships. Moreover, her publication list covers topics as diverse as music historiography, Italian opera, Guillaume du Fay, Guillaume de Machaut, Bach and aspects of twentieth-century music. I was able to witness first hand her broad-minded approach and her impressive command of several aspects of music history when we collaborated on the edited volume *Musical Receptions of Greek Antiquity: From the Romantic Era to*

Modernism (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016). Personally, I feel that the value of her work lies especially in her genuine interest in history, with an emphasis in politics, combined with her deep understanding and love for music. Those who did not have the chance to know her can sense this love and lifelong commitment to music in the work that she left behind. For those of us who were fortunate enough to know her as a teacher, colleague and friend, Katy will remain a unique role model and source of inspiration.

Katerina Levidou



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**IN MEMORIAM
DIMITRIJE I. STEFANOVIĆ**

(1929–2020)

Born in Pančevo on 25 November 1929, Dimitrije Stefanović graduated in English language and literature in 1955 at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade and in the history of music at the Belgrade Academy of Music (1956). At Oxford University he finished his MA (1960) and PhD (1967) studies, supervised by Professor Egon Wellesz (1885-1974). During his postgraduate studies Stefanović also worked with other Byzantinist musicologists, such as Henry Tillyard and Oliver Strunk. As a lecturer at and participant in numerous international gatherings and congresses, he was a guest at many universities in Europe and America. He gave a great many lectures on Orthodox and especially Serbian Orthodox church music and hundreds of popular lectures for different audiences in the country and abroad: at twenty Yugoslav-German choir weeks (1971-1991), nineteen Summer Spiritual Academies at the Monastery of Studenica, as well as many Summer Schools on Church Chant “In Memory of Kornelije Stanković”.

His spent his working career at the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, where he held all possible research positions, from research assistant to the equivalent of a full research fellow (1958-2000). He was director of the Institute of Musicology of the SASA for two decades (1979-2000).

He was regular member of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts/Department of Social Sciences as a corresponding (1976) and full member (1985). Stefanović was also a member of other academies: the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Zagreb), 1986 and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts Ljubljana) 1987. He had an important role at the Matica srpska (Novi Sad) being a member of Executive and Managing Boards and Secretary of the Department of Stage Arts and Music (1991-2004), as well as Vice President (2004-2012), and he retained his membership of the editorial board of the *Matica Srpska Journal of Stage Arts and Music*. He also took positions at the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts as a General Secretary (2007-2015), Secretary of the Department of Social Sciences (since 2017), Chair of the Expert Council of the SASA Archives; and member of the Expert Council of the SASA Archives at Sremski Karlovci. Stefanović served as a member of several other SASA boards: the Board for Szentendre, since 1976; the Board for the Dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian Standard and Vernacular Language, since 1972; the Inter-departmental Board for the Third Millennium, since 1982; the Inter-departmental Board for the Study of Kosovo, since 1983; the Inter-departmental Board for the

History of Serbian Music (President since 1979); the Board for Old Slavonic, since 1982; and the Board for the Study of Ethnic Minorities and Human Rights.

His research concentrated primarily on the study of Orthodox Church Music – Byzantine and Old Slavonic. He focused particularly on the discovery, transcription, critical evaluation and publishing of mediaeval documents. As a consequence of the results of this research the date of the written beginning of Serbian music moved back to the early 15th century. Stefanović's scientific work was always connected with active music practice through public performances of the newly discovered melodies as well as recording the living church tradition. Beside two hundred published studies in Serbian, English, German, French and Russian, Stefanović edited three volumes of Karlovci Chant notated by Branko Cvejić. He also edited collections of works from international conferences, and reviewed a series of musicological monographs and collections.

Stefanović was constantly active as a choir conductor, mostly in connection with the early monophonic church music and contemporary church choral repertoire. He led the famous Pančevo Serbian Church Singing Society (from 1950) and occasionally the First Belgrade Singing Society and the choir of the St Sava Theological School in Belgrade. He was assistant conductor of the Branko Krsmanović Academic Choir and leader of the Belgrade Madrigal Choir.

He founded and until his last days led the Study Choir of the Institute of Musicology SASA (1969), performing in all the main centres of the former Yugoslavia and in many European countries. For the first time he performed music from newly-discovered manuscripts of old Serbian music (Kir Stephen the Serb, Isaiah the Serb, Nikola the Serb) and mostly unknown Byzantine, Bulgarian, Russian, Gregorian and Glagolitic church melodies as well as Orthodox choral music of the 19th and 20th centuries little or not at all known within Yugoslavia. With this choir he published several long-play recordings, compact-discs and TV programmes. In parallel with the concert activities, the *Study Choir of the Institute of Musicology SASA* sung at many church services in Orthodox churches and monasteries in Serbia and abroad.

Stefanović was devoted to the restoration of Velika Remeta monastery, where he prepared the exhibition "Old Serbian music and the Fruška Gora monasteries". Although he did not teach at any university, he spent innumerable hours with younger colleagues and students, always ready to help and encourage learning and research work.

Stefanović was awarded the Saint Sava Medal of the first degree (1990), decorations from Russian and Romanian patriarchs, the Cross of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany (1991) and the golden badge of the Jeunesses Musicales of Yugoslavia. In 2018 he received the "Dositej Obradović" award.

Many pupils of Dimitrije Stefanović – today Serbian priests, bishops, monks, church and academic musicians all over the world – spread his passion for the Christian faith and church music. Wherever he travelled he met these people, and from high academic circles, church choir balconies or school classrooms they together shared his love for old and new church music, for church services, for the art of chanting and choral conducting, and, finally, for God Himself. Many of them witness that he was a bishop in civil clothes.

A few personal evocations, first from the Serbian Bishop of Eastern America Maxim Vasiljević:

Was he a great man? Truly Christian? Fine academic? Honourable musicologist? Yes, All that. But in his own way, *Dimitri's way*.... In that same way he taught the students of

the Theological school about the things that other teachers could not or did not dare to speak. The definition of faith as an endless fascination with God. He spoke about Mount Athos and how the Monastery of Hilandar is the essence of Serbian spirituality. He spoke and "burned" everything around him with that flame.

.... In his *Dimitri's way* he taught his singers to respect the centuries-long Tradition of the Church. In his *Dimitri's way* he introduced them to authentic faithful people from the Serbian Monastery of Remeta to Greece and Russia. He taught them to have respect for the West and not to write it off with only one written gesture... In his *Dimitri's way*..... Sometimes his kind of peacefulness towards some people looked like piety and strong spirituality but was misunderstood as romantic sentiment or emotion. Being as he was, the earth did not enable him to live in the sky – all his long and fruitful life. In his *Dimitri's way*.

Teacher of church music and former Moscow student Predrag Miodrag, who was Dimitrijević's pupil in the late 1960s, remembers especially the professor's connections with England, with all the Serbs (mainly anti-communists who escaped to return to their homeland), Russians (mainly White) and English Benedictines. Memories of the late Metropolitan Anthony Bloom with his wonderful Russian choir led by Father Michael Fortunatto, or the female Anglican Benedictine Monastery of St Mary in West Malling between London and Canterbury, represent magnificent Christian feelings and a never-ending song. Thanks to Professor Stefanović's mission and love, in those places even today one can hear the sounds of Russian and Serbian Orthodox church music.

I met him in 1988 at his office in the building of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts and very quickly I became a member of his choir, coming regularly for rehearsals on Monday evenings. The moment I first saw him, I knew that he was going to be my "spiritual father". Afterwards, under his patronage at the Sremski Karlovci Summer School of Church music (1992) I conducted the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom by Kornelije Stanković, 120 years after it was in use in the Serbian Church. For every important concert of my St George's Cathedral Choir from Novi Sad I spoke with him about the programme or other crucial elements of this wonderful art. He was extremely pleased when I conducted a programme entitled "Sacred Songs of Serbia" with the famous Cappella Romana in 2014 in Portland and Seattle, in the USA. When I launched my book *Liturgical and Artistic Elements in Serbian Sacred Choral Music between the two World Wars (1918-1941)* based on my Ph.D thesis from 2015, he gave a memorable speech about difficult time we are all living finishing with a fascinating sentence which everybody present that evening remembers: "We Can Manage It!"

He was a wonderful teacher whose energy went over and over again through me for many years as we sang at church services or shared ecstatic experiences at different concerts. The special feeling of extreme spiritual concentration, when you could sense the strange not-from-this-world reality and the prayerful tenderness he used to call *naitije* during the most delicate moments of the service, is something I always understand as a special gift those of us gathered around Professor Dimitrijević had the privilege to receive. I was fortunate enough to have him as my beloved teacher. I will always remember his absolutely unique personality, so original, and certainly blessed by God.

Dr Bogdan Đaković



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LITURGY AND THE EMOTIONS IN BYZANTIUM
COMPUNCTION AND HYMNODY

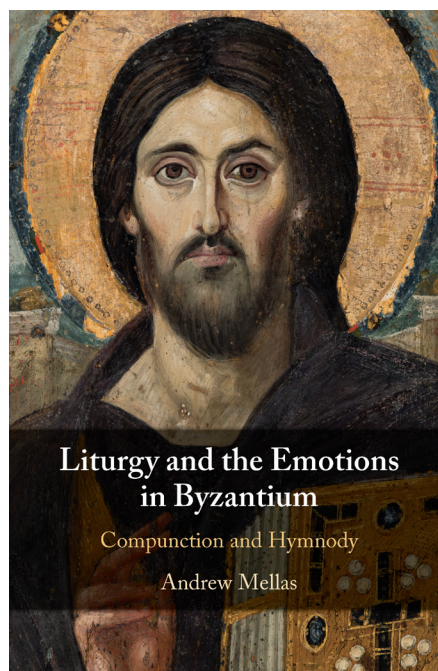
Andrew Mellas
Cambridge University Press
2020

ISBN 978-1-108-48759-7 xii+206 pp. 1 figure.

There is a popular perception amongst the Orthodox that emotion has no place in liturgy, though this is something that is, in turn, almost completely undermined by instinctively emotional reactions to liturgical music of various kinds, to hymnography, to homiletic discourse and, indeed, to aspects of liturgical ritual itself (I am thinking, for example, of the burial procession of Christ on Holy Friday).

This remarkable book seeks to understand compunction as a “liturgical emotion”, enacted through embodiment precisely through chanted hymnology as mystagogy. In order to do this, Andrew Mellas, who is Senior Lecturer in Byzantine Studies at St Andrew’s Theological College, Sydney, concentrates on hymns for Great Lent and Holy Week by Romanos the Melodist, Andrew of Crete and Kassia the nun. It is divided into five chapters and a conclusion, three of the chapters dealing with each of these hymnographers systematically and prefaced by a substantial introduction and a discussion of “The Liturgical World of Compunction”.

The Introduction is neatly sparked by a quotation from St Basil the Great concerning the way in which compunction is given or withheld, and there follows a clearly-written and often revelatory appraisal of the way in which the theme has been dealt with by other scholars. Particularly important, it seems to me, is Mellas’s acknowledgement that “(...) I eschew Hinterberger’s methodology, which approaches emotions in Byzantium as ‘ideational’ constructs rather than embodied phenomena” (p. 15), since this is a foundational aspect of the book’s aims and scope. There is a very pungent section on the limitations of much scholarship on hymnography which ought to be read by anyone venturing



into this area, and which begins by reminding us that “[...] an authoritative and comprehensive monograph on Byzantine hymnography is yet to be published” (p. 16).

Chapter 2 is entitled “The Liturgical World of Compunction”, and focuses in particular on Hagia Sophia. There is a detailed discussion of the interrelationships between liturgy and the emotions in Byzantium and the way in which this is manifested through sacred song and understood in the liturgical commentaries of Dionysius the Areopagite, Maximus the Confessor and Germanos of Constantinople. As Mellas notes after his analysis of Maximus’s insistence that “the performance of the eucharistic mystery [...] can transform the human person into theology itself”, “[t]he relationship between cognition and emotion portrayed here can be a bewildering one for the modern world” (p. 55), and accordingly explains the Byzantine understanding of this against the background of earlier Greek thought, and deepens it with a discussion of affective mysticism and a final section on “Great Lent and the Triodion as the Liturgical Framework for Compunction”, concluding neatly that, “[u]nlike the discursive thought of patristic texts ad exegetical treatises, the performativity of hymns dramatised the adventure of salvation as a personalising narrative in the sacred space of liturgy, which was the habitus of compunction” (p. 70).

The third chapter is devoted to Romanos the Melodist, and more specifically his kontakia and the way they would have been performed during the period of Great Lent. Regarding this topic, I should note that, though the frequent use of the word “performance” and related terms may be disturbing to some, it reflects an increasing area of scholarship on these matters and also accurately describes without undue circumlocution what is in fact taking place when liturgy is enacted by means of chanting. This clears the path for an illuminating discussion of the way Romanos deals with the themes of compunction and repentance in his work, and then relates it to Biblical exemplars of compunction. Again, Mellas notes the intensity of the collective and individual experience that the hymnographical treatment of the in the kontakia might produce: “[Romanos’s] hymns sought to harness the iconic nature of the liturgy to incite a profound experience that could shape Christian personhood” (p. 94).

This is followed by a discussion of compunction and the eschaton, and a thought-provoking section on the musical dimension of the kontakia. One might wish this to be longer, especially perhaps in the section dealing with the patristic attitude towards music, but it is true that Mellas acknowledges right at the beginning the difficulty of the task, and too much speculation would be unhelpful.

Chapter 4 deals with Andrew of Crete, and more specifically the Great Canon. Mellas reminds us that there is, astoundingly, no modern critical edition of this monument of liturgical poetry available, and accordingly he has recourse to three of the earliest manuscripts of the Triodion. The aim of the chapter is to reimagine the way in which the Canon would have been performed in Byzantium, and to that end there is a prefatory discussion of the place of the genre in the hymnography of the time, of manuscripts, editions and translations and the liturgical context, but the intangible object of the study is always returned to: “Feeling liturgical emotions was an extension of the Eucharist, a perpetuation of the mystery where creation communicated with the uncreated and was deified” (p. 138). It would be easy to imagine this particular chapter expanded to become a monograph in itself.

Kassia is the subject of the fifth chapter, and inevitably in this context, her famous *sicheron* idiomelon for Holy Wednesday (most commonly known as the “Troparion of Kassiani”). Mellas again discusses the liturgical contexts and the manuscripts before moving on to a masterly examination of the text itself and the way in which its performance could provoke compunction. In many ways his comments here resume the entire aim of the book:

The performance of Kassia’s hymn opened a liminal space, where personal contemplation and the collective song of the faithful converged. Singing the hymn became a liturgical act that could mirror and transform the emotions of the singer’s soul. Words and melody invited the faithful to contemplate the striking paradox of how, in the depths of darkness, amidst the eros of sinfulness, Kassia’s protagonist senses the divinity of the Logos and feels compunction. (pp. 165-6)

This is a striking description indeed, and could only come from someone who is not merely a liturgical historian or theologian, but a practicing musician with a deep knowledge of the liturgical life of the Church. Mellas’s book will be of fundamental importance, then, not only to those working in these fields, but to any Christian seeking to understand the way in which what we experience in the liturgical moment embodies the eternal and transforms the worshipper.

Ivan Moody